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## Near East/South Asia Report

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17 December 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION'S RESOLUTION CONSIDERED VICTORY

Paris GAMK in Armenian and French 26 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The adoption of the Whitaker Report on 29 August by the UN Subcommission on Human Rights is a resounding defeat for Turkish diplomacy and a victory for Armenians.

The complexity of the debates, the fact that summer is a bad time for mobilizing supporters and the skepticism of certain people, as well as the disinformation campaign directed by the Turkish press and by Turkish officials, contributed to the doubt about the successful outcome, which we announced when the session ended.

However, the objective facts are there.

Indeed there is today a UN report--E/CN 45 Sub 2/1985/6--entitled "Revised Version and Clarification of the Study of the Question of Prevention and Suppression of the Crime of Genocide." On more than one page this report states that "the massacre of Armenians by the Turks in 1915-1916" certainly constitutes "a case of genocide in the 20th century," and mentions bibliographic references which prove it.

The Subcommission on the Campaign against Discrimination and for the Protection of Minorities, which "has taken note of the study by the special reporter," has expressed to him "its thanks and its congratulations." The expression "has taken note" is the formula most commonly used in the UN during the adoption of an official document.

The subcommittee, which "examined the study and submitted it to debate," likewise "noted that divergent opinions were expressed concerning its content and its proposals." Then it "adopted the report in its entirety by an overwhelming majority of 14 in favor, 1 against and 4 abstentions."

This document was drawn up and adopted by experts, not by politicians. The nature of their mandate--the review and clarification of a study--and their qualifications as experts increase the value of their work, which constitutes a credible reference.



The fact this report may or may not be transmitted in turn to the Commission on Human Rights changes nothing in the significance of what has been adopted.

On 30 August, the CDCA [Committee for the Defense of the Armenian Cause] on behalf of the Armenain National Committee, representatives of the international press (REUTER, AFP, RADIO SUISSE, INTERNATIONALE, HERALD TRIBUNE, LE MONDE, LE JOURNAL DE GENEVE...) and the UN noted and published the foregoing facts in a press release.

This having been established, the fact remains, nevertheless, that an event of such importance will give rise to some reflection and action: for example, can the negative vote of Soviet expert Sofinsky be accepted without protest? Certainly in the face of the debate and the historical facts, he sacrificed the demands for justice of between 4 and 5 million Soviet Armenians to other interests.

What will be the attitude of oranizations which did not participate directly in achieving this success?

As for ourselves, we hope that they will come to share it with us, that they will appreciate its usefulness rather than want to diminish it.

As for the two personalities from the Armenian organizations SFA and AIA [expansions unknown] who saw in their creation, a year ago, the will to participate in this action, we ask them to recall that the CDCA has done everything to ensure good on-the-spot coordination with them, and that this type of action will come to naught if in the future, it lacks perseverance, coordination throughout several countries, great discretion and a certain humility.

As for the statements which tend to minimize the defeat of Messrs Yavuzalp, Ataov and their associate are concerned, we believe they will soon discredit Turkish diplomats in this area. To keep their posts at Geneva and at Ankara, these gentlemen lie shamelessly to their fellow citizens. Can this go unpunished much longer?

To all those who have encouraged, helped and sustained us, we say "Thank you."

Encouraged by this first great success, we all reaffirm our determination to pursue our fight for justice and for Armenia.

8735/12948  
CSO: 4619/1

LIBYA

## LARGE SCALE IRON, STEEL COMPLEX NEARING COMPLETION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German  
5 Aug 85 p 2

[Unattributed Article]

[Text] An official source in Libya recently announced that the integrated iron and steel complex in Misratah, located approximately 200 kilometers east of Tripoli, is more than 75 percent completed with start-up anticipated for the coming year. At present, a labor force of roughly 10,000 is working at the construction site and, later on, about 5,000 will make up the work-force. The entire capital investment for this project is being estimated at roughly 1.5 billion Libyan Dinars (1 Libyan Dinar = approx. 10.66 DM).

The steel mill will operate on the basis of domestic natural gas and, during the first completion stage, import the required iron ore. During this first phase, the annual capacity is to be roughly 1.3 million tons of soft steel and an equal amount of steel products. For later, an expansion of the annual capacity to five million tons is planned as well as the use of local iron ore which is to be mined in Wadi al-Shati in the south of the country. The Executive Board of Iron and Steel Complex (Ebisco), Tripoli, is in charge of the realization of the project. German companies are participating to a considerable degree in the erection and equipment of the iron and steel complex.

The complex includes a direct reduction plant for iron ore, two electric steel mills, a hot-rolling mill, a cold-rolling mill, a wire-rolling mill, a section mill, as well as the required infrastructure facilities. The order for supply and erection of the direct reduction plant according to the Midrex-process was placed with a German-Austrian consortium, with the Korf Engineering GmbH., Dusseldorf, being in charge. Other consortial partners are the Bilfinger + Berger Bauaktiengesellschaft, Mannheim; the national Austrian Voest-Alpine AG, Linz; Siemens AG, Munich/Berlin, and the MAN Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nuernberg AG, Augsburg. The direct reduction plant (two modules) will have an annual capacity of 1.1 million tons of sponge iron.

The Korf Engineering GmbH, Duesseldorf, an affiliated company of Voest-Alpine AG, has also taken charge for the turnkey construction of Steel Mill I, whose annual capacity will amount to 630,000 tons of soft steel. The Voest-Alpine AG and Brown, Boveri & Cie AG (BBC), Mannheim, are also part of the consortium

which received the corresponding order. Steel Mill I is being equipped with three ultra-high-power (UHP) Krupp-Voest electric arc furnaces with 90 tons of tap weight each, as well as continuous casting machines for ingot and billet production. The Voest-Alpine AG builds these electric arc furnaces under Krupp licensing. The value of orders for the direct reduction plant and Steel Mill I, which also include start-up of the plants and extensive technical assistance, was quoted at a total of 1.83 billion DM by the Korf Engineering GmbH.

The order for Steel Mill II was placed with a joint venture under the leadership of Krupp Industrietechnik GmbH, Duisburg. The consortial partners are Voest-Alpine AG; Walter-Thosti-Boswau Bauaktiengesellschaft (WTB), Augsburg; Brown, Boveri & Cie. AG (BBC) and Mannesmann Anlagenbau AG, Duesseldorf. Steel Mill II will also have three UHP-electric arc furnaces of 90 tons of tap weight each and, in addition, two continuous casting slab mills from Voest-Alpine AG. The value of the order is in the amount of 1.5 billion DM. Annual capacity is being quoted with 650,000 tons of soft steel. The order value, which is higher as compared to Steel Mill I, is the result of additional infrastructure measures (pipelines, cables, roads, drainage and waste removal, as well as fire protection, for example). WTB is executing the concrete and reinforced concrete work for Steel Mill II as well as the turnkey erection of company premises and infrastructure work for the entire complex.

The turnkey erection of the hot-rolling mill with an annual capacity of 580,000 tons of hot wide strip in the first completion stage was assigned to a consortium under the leadership of Voest-Alpine AG. Included in this are also SMS Schloemann-Siemag AG, Duesseldorf/Hilchenbach; Siemens AG and MDS Mannesmann Demag Sack, Dusseldorf, a business group of Mannesmann Demag AG, Duisburg. The SMS Schloemann-Siemag AG share in the order comprises the supply and installation of a six-stand hot wide strip finishing train, including coilers and coil transfer facilities. Later, an additional order was received for a strip pickling plant, a shearing line for hot-rolled wide strip of up to 12.7 millimeter strip thickness, as well as three cooling beds. The MAN Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nurnberg AG assumed the complete equipment of the hot- and cold-rolling mill with 22 traveling cranes of various load capacities.

The order for construction of the cold-rolling mill having an annual capacity of 140,000 tons of cold-rolled strip and 100,000 tons of unpickled sheet was given to a consortium whose management is also in the hands of Voest-Alpine AG. Consortial partners are the BBC-affiliated corporations in Baden (Switzerland) and Mannheim for the complete electrical equipment, the Dillinger Stahlbau GmbH (DSD), Saarlouis, and the South Korean construction company Daewoo Development Company Ltd., Seoul. The total order value for the cold-rolling mill amounts to roughly one billion DM, 133 million DM of which are the share of the BBC-companies.

Mannesmann Demag AG was included in the erection of the wire rolling mill. They received an order from the Japanese firm Kobe Steel Ltd. for the supply of two ten-stand rod-finishing blocks, including the respective wire-finishing shops. The order for construction of a wire rolling mill as well as of a section mill at a total value of 800 million dollars, in round figures, had

been received by Kobe Steel Ltd. The Kobe Steel Ltd. is also in charge of the construction of a water-monitoring station, an oxygen plant, a liquid-gas storage, a central laboratory and a central monitoring complex for the facilities.

An Italian consortium under the management of Impresit of the Fiat-Group and of Techint, Milan, received orders valued at roughly 300 million dollars for the erection of shops, electric power supply facilities and sewage systems. In the spring of 1985, an Italian consortium, whose management was assumed by the construction firm Italimpianti, Genoa, received an order in the amount of roughly 150 million dollars for the construction of a computer-controlled data processing center in the Misratah steel mill. Consortial partner is Italsider of the IRI-Finsider-Group to which Italimpianti belongs also. The equipment is to be supplied primarily by the Olivetti SpA company.

Within the framework of the steel mill project, Heilit + Woerner Bau AG, Munich, was put in charge of infrastructure work and erection of recreational facilities and company premises. The British company Ingersoll Engineers, Ruby, a subsidiary of the American company of the same name, secured an order valued at 22 million pounds sterling for training of skilled personnel. Dastur Engineering International GmbH, Duesseldorf, was engaged as engineering consultants, in collaboration with the Indian parent company M. N. Dastur & Co. (Private) Ltd., Calcutta. They took on the planning, engineering and project control. The Yugoslavian company Projekt Ivan Milutinovic (PIM) was put in charge of the execution of the second expansion stage of the harbor of Misratah in the spring of 1984. The value of the respective order is set at 280 million dollars.

12947  
CSO: 4620/53

ISRAEL

CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF AMBASSADOR FROM EGYPT

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Jul 85 p 2

[Editorial by Dr H. Rosenblum: "On Masters and Servants"]

[Text] Government sources this past week have denied rumors concerning the desire of our ambassador in Egypt, Mr Moshe Sason, to leave his post in Cairo. With all respect to those sources, their denials are unsatisfactory for three reasons: 1) rumors of Sason's departure have circulated for months, and not even Sason himself has denied them, 2) MK A. Eban disclosed a week ago that he refused an offer to replace Sason in Cairo, which means that Sason was about to leave his post, and 3) as a rule, ambassadors do not remain at their posts for longer than 3 or 4 years except in unusual cases; Sason is currently in his fifth year in Cairo, so the time of his departure is overdue.

The truth, as it appears to us, is this: Sason has no pleasure from his job in Egypt, partly because of the attacks on him from his hosts, which have been widely reported here. But Jerusalem fears that his departure now would further worsen relations with Egypt because a replacement would probably not have as much patience as Sason.

With things as they are, we must ask ourselves whether it would not be worthwhile to exploit this situation by encouraging Sason's departure and not replacing him with a new Israeli ambassador in Cairo but only with a charge. That is, having a stand-in for the Israeli ambassador in Egypt rather than a full or official ambassador in our Cairo embassy, following the example of Egypt, which has had only a charge in its Israeli embassy for several years as if this were the most natural thing in the world.

In fact, if Egypt's honor and prestige dictates that it must leave us without an ambassador but with only a deputy or assistant, why does not our honor and prestige compel us to return the favor and give them a deputy or assistant rather than an ambassador? Certainly they would not be insulted by this gesture: for why shouldn't we be able to do to them what they do to us? They do many things that are unacceptable to us: they are preventing Sadat's widow and daughter from visiting our country while we do nothing to stop many thousands of Israelis from touring Egypt and leaving millions of dollars there. They incite much of the world against us, especially black Africa, while we do not allow ourselves the luxury of portraying Egypt as we truly see her because

of our fears of their reaction. But we do not want to go too far in showing our reaction to their hostility for fear of causing a total break in relations; all we want to do is leave them without an ambassador, just as they have done. Is this asking too much?

However, as we said earlier, we have no desire to further widen the gap that separates us from the Egyptians, which the Egyptians themselves are doing. We have no national interest in further complicating matters; on the contrary, it is our and everyone's interest to bring our peoples together. For this cause we have already sacrificed whatever possible, more than any other country would have done. We returned the Sinai to them, an area nearly 5 or 6 times the size of our country, without them losing one soldier in getting it back. Where are the airfields we built, the highways we paved, the towns we established and the oilfields we discovered during our 13 years in the Sinai, all for the cause of peace? They, rather than thanking us, found some half kilometer of land (Taba) that we did not hand over, because of which they are ready to start a diplomatic battle or even worse by stormily recalling their ambassador from our country. And even if Taba does belong to them, why don't they show a minimum of courtesy and not force the issue after all we have given up? This is a red line that we cannot cross; there is a limit to everything. And even if our desire has been and will be to improve relations with Egypt, on this issue there is no compromise. And if Israel is fated to survive without an Egyptian ambassador, then Egypt should live without an Israeli ambassador. There is no reason for us to continue to take these Egyptian slaps in the face.

In general, our failure to draw conclusions from these unrelenting attacks against our nation just encourages them to further belittle us as a nation unworthy of respect; the longer it continues the worse the damage to us, both morally and substantively. Others will say that "if the Jews swallow all of Egypt's insults and threats it must be because they themselves admit that they are in the wrong; if they think that way, why should we do otherwise?" This world view will become an additional ethical burden for us to bear, and we will feel its effects in other areas, not just in a few years but right now.

To be precise, we should add one more thing. When they agree to return their ambassador to us, we should reciprocate but only under the same conditions. If they seek some "baksheesh" in exchange for returning their ambassador, we should demand the same, otherwise the whole deal is off. All this is not because we are dying to see their ambassador in our country but because of our insistence on maintaining complete equality between our rights and theirs; there can be no diplomatic relations between countries without equality of rights and obligations. Otherwise, we are not talking of relations between equals but of relations between a master and his servant, which are not equal but rather more like between a ruler and a vassal. We would regret this even if Egypt were cast as the servant and we were the rulers, because everyone was born equal and we generally dislike servants. However, our pain is far greater when they try to make us servants, a situation that must make all Jews lose their tempers.

This is what we should promise the Egyptians: The deputy ambassador that we will send upon the return home of Ambassador Sason will not be some "simpleton" with whom his Egyptian hosts have nothing to discuss, but an experienced diplomat, a prestigious and cultured individual very much like Egypt's man in Tel Aviv, Mr Basyuni. We will do this in order to prevent the Egyptians from feeling any diplomatic or practical discomfort, so that the Egyptian opposition cannot say to Mubarak, "See, the Israelis have sent you an ignoramus, whom it would be an embarrassment to meet." All we want is full equality in everything, including our mutual deputy ambassadors, until we can reach an equitable solution to the dispute between our nations. The important thing is to resolve our disagreement and not let it drag on forever; but such a solution cannot be reached as long as one side looks down upon the other while the other side trembles with fear and accepts its second-rate status.

12833/12245

COS: 4423/75

ISRAEL

DEFENSE BUDGET CUTS

Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew 30 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] The cut in the defense budget for 1985 totalled \$660 million as compared to the previous fiscal year. The defense portion of the general state budget decreased and stood at 10.6 percent compared to 26.3 percent in 1974. These figures emerge from a survey carried out by the financial adviser to the chief of the general staff. This year's cut included \$330 million in direct cuts, \$130 million for debt obligations, and another \$200 million cut in related outlays. In 1982, an overall multiyear budget was established for defense totaling \$3.2 billion. Up to 1985, this total was reduced more than \$880 million. The reasons included the war in Lebanon and the protracted stay there, the continued development of the Lavi fighter, the new deployments following the peace treaty with Egypt, runaway inflation, allocation of resources for purchases, and absorption and equipping of troops. On the other hand, consider the list of accomplishments: the freezing of obligations, many direct and indirect cuts in the budget, principally in foreign currency, an increase in the level of defense assistance from the United States and an increase in the efficiency of its exploitation, and finally, qualitative improvements and new technologies in the IDF. In his conclusions, the adviser establishes that the cut in the defense budget and the uncertainty regarding the budget create difficulties in operating the system; this is in great measure due to the lack of flexibility in defense expenditures. Most of the resources are earmarked for the maintenance of manpower and supplies, while only a little is set aside for equipment. At the same time, the cost of new defense systems increases drastically, which, in effect, further reduces the budget available for defense. In the face of the current economic situation in the country, the adviser concludes that no increase in the defense budget is expected for the next 2 years. At this time the semi-annual audit of the budget is taking place, but discussions with the Ministry of Finance to establish a budgetary framework for the coming year have not yet begun.

/12232

CSO: 4423/53



ISRAEL

RELIGIOUS FACTION IN LABOR PARTY REVIEWED

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 25 Jul 85 p 7

[Article: "Religious Faction in Labor"]

[Text] Several months before the elections for the 11th Knesset a group of religious members headed by former Knesset Member David Glass, director general of the Ministry of Religions under Minister Yitzhaq Rafa'el, joined the Labor Party. It was a group that included former activists and supporters of the NRP, who were fed up with what was happening inside their party, particularly its extremist line. Glass had been involved in the removal of Minister Rafa'el from office, and some of the NPR's internal situation was his doing. But this was only one aspect of his activities. Many fellow party members considered Glass undesirable because of his dovish stands on policy issues in general and Judaea and Samaria in particular. The decision to join the Labor Party was not ideologically surprising, even though Glass is a pure dove compared to some of the hawkish doves in his new party.

The Labor Party eagerly welcomed the religious members who decided to join its ranks. There was a trend in Labor at that time to become more open towards moderate religious groups, and the new group was expected to attract such voters.

The elections took place a year ago, and since then Labor has formed an internal committee to determine the organizational status of the religious members. The group could have joined the Religious Worker group, headed by MK Menahem Hakohen, within Labor. But it seems the match did not work out too well. The appointed committee decided the new group would become a unit within Labor. This week the new unit held its first conference, and its leaders intend to organize a census and a national convention in January 1986, 2 months before the national convention of the Labor Party, in which the representatives of the religious unit will participate as delegates.

Labor is trying to remove the stigma attached to it as an anti-religious party, especially compared to Likud. As prime minister, Shimon Peres is quite active in this effort, not only in regard to legislation, but also in what might be termed as extreme gestures. In a recent meeting between young members of Labor and the NRP, the NRP young criticized the fact that Peres had decided to study Mishna with Rabbi 'Ovdya Yosef instead of a rabbi close to

the NRP. At the same time, they expressed satisfaction with the prime minister's gestures towards religion. The leaning of Labor towards the religious community is two-track: on the one hand, to keep in touch with the religious parties with a view toward future partnership with Labor alone and not just within the framework of a national unity government which includes the Likud; and on the other hand, to open the door to that part of the religious community whose social and political views are close to Labor, but who never voted for Labor because of the religious barrier. No doubt the new religious unit may help remove the religious stigma of Labor and attract additional religious voters.

9565/9435

CSO: 4423/7

ISRAEL

UPDATE ON TAMI PARTY VIEWED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Jul 85 Tel Aviv Supplement p 8-9

[Article by Ari'ela Ringel-Hofman]

[Text] TAMI headquarters, on 18 Rivel Street, very close to the central bus station.

Aharon Abu-Hatzera sits drowsily in a large, well-lit, air-conditioned room.

From force of habit he speaks in truncated sentences during a two hour conversation. The telephone rings twice, once from a nearby room.

TAMI, "the rising power," "the upright pillar" is covered with wall-to-wall carpets.

Outside rages the storm over the economic plan. Inside TAMI's office all is serene. If you are looking for any sign of bitterness here, you have the wrong address.

When was the last time we heard from Abu-Hatzera, or about him? It is hard to remember. He is silent.

Abu-Hatzera and TAMI have been keeping a low public profile. Whoever will write the history of the first year of Israel's national unity government, whose formation was due in part to Abu-Hatzera, will not underestimate TAMI's role. It simply does not have one.

In 1984, after the elections, TAMI returned to the Knesset with only one seat. Abu-Hatzera, a political fox, who knows not only how to sneak through the broken fence to get into the vineyard but how to get out without a diet, gambled everything and suddenly found himself torn between two sides.

Today he is a Knesset member, a member of the Finance committee and leader of a toothless party.

Aharon Abu-Hatzera, well-dressed and smiling, lifts his legs onto his desk during the interview. He is relaxed. In short, we both try to find issues to discuss.

It went like this:

[Question] We didn't hear your position on the economic plan.

[Answer] It's a terrible plan, I voted against it. It doesn't bring justice, rather it further increases the gap.

[Question] Are you saying that increasing the gap is one of the aims of the plan?

[Answer] I can't enter the hearts of the planners but I can speak of their approach. The problem with the mentality of the economic establishment, which is made up of the highest officials, is that it is closely tied to the economic power brokers in this country. What an industrialist says carries much more weight than what his hundreds of workers say.

Those who lead this country come from the private sector and will return there; they wouldn't dare to change the system.

[Question] Can you be more specific?

[Answer] I won't name names. Just check who are the members of the Steinberg commission and you'll see.

Abu-Hatzera speaks as a minority on the serious consequences of the plan, the widespread unemployment, the damage to education and the emigration of our best youth from the country.

We decided to force early elections in the face of much less damaging economic plans than the one currently in effect.

[Question] And what are you doing?

[Answer] In TAMI there is tranquility, naturally. We try to keep our members together and meet regularly.

[Question] Just 2 minutes ago you were talking of a catastrophe.

[Answer] There are two alternatives, either to work within a democratic framework or to stand against it and use violent means. I would never choose violence; it has not and never will bring change.

[Question] There's no other alternative except violence?

[Answer] To act, one must have political strength. The public can now discern the difference between a government without TAMI versus one with TAMI.

I'm not evading my responsibilities to my constituency but I don't think in terms of revenge. Those who didn't vote for TAMI shouldn't expect us to be effective; it's hard to operate with only one seat.

Young and prominent TAMI activists are saying that all Abu-Hatzera is interested in is survival, and the only way for him to survive is to stay silent.

TAMI is heavily in debt. Someone at the Treasury is keeping an eye on its finances. The situation is fluid. A noisy Abu-Hatzera would achieve less than a quiet Abu-Hatzera. Today all he wants to do is save his own skin."

When I ask them about obligations to the public, about values, they laugh.

"Activities have become minimal. If there shall be any results from the next election, what now constitutes TAMI won't see them.

"Then we will see the state of the economic plan. First there will be some political moves, such as talks with Palestinians, Taba and Egypt. Then Reagan will become active again and force some new initiatives on us. Things will happen."

He does not lay out a scenario. There may be new elections, or a narrow government headed by Labor.

[Question] And how does TAMI fit into the picture?

[Answer] I certainly won't comment on that now. Other issues that he wouldn't discuss:

[Question] What do you think of Shimon Peres as a prime minister?

[Answer] I have never publicly commented on people.

[Question] You are very close to 'Ezer Weitzmann. Once there was even talk of you joining together. What do you have to say about his activities?

[Answer] Whatever I had to say, I've already told him.

[Question] What do you think of KAKH's strength?

[Answer] KAKH represents the antiestablishment. Whoever wasn't ready to share power with us (TAMI) must now deal with a movement that wants it all for themselves. Whoever fought against TAMI when it was first established has opened the way for Kahane.

[Question] Maybe it was those who established TAMI, and not those who fought it?

[Answer] There are those who want to think that.

[Question] Do you accept the growing movement of religious coercion, those affecting Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and the pork law?

[Answer] All this talk about religious coercion is blown out of proportion. Both sides are either too bored or too scared to deal with the true problems. There is no such thing as religious coercion.

According to Abu-Hatzera, many of the things attracting public attention, such as the statements of Rabbi Peretz, and the Baba Sali, are fictitious, merely media hype.

On the comment that there are still those who expect big things from TAMI, he answers with a wry smile "Right now we don't have that kind of power."

For he who heads TAMI, it seems like the end of the road. To judge by what has happened over the past year, the end is not far off.

[Box on p 8] Aharon Uzan

"TAMI today has only one active Knesset member. Its institutions are working in low gear. There are all sorts of problems, in recruitment and fund-raising. In my opinion, if we don't start being active, it will be the worst for us. There have been instances in political history where a party dropped from three seats to one and then recovered. I believe this could happen to us."

On the possibility that TAMI would break up and its leaders join another party: "As for me, I already had a good position in a large part and I have no intention of going back to it. According to what Abu-Hatzera tells me, this is also his wish--an independent TAMI. I believe that before the holidays activity will resume and the party will recover."

[Box on p 9] Professor Menahem Friedman--Come Back to the NRP

Professor Friedman of Bar Ilan University is a specialist on religious sociology and is thought to be one of the experts on Israeli religious parties.

Professor Friedman: "TAMI will not recuperate, even though there are always surprises in politics. I believe that TAMI as a party will disappear from the political map by the next election.

It flourished on a very limited platform. On the one hand, it answered the expectations of the Sephardic public that identified with an ethnic, religious tradition. On the other, it received strong support from young intellectuals who have a strong ethnic identity.

Today, SHAS can better fulfill the needs of the religious public, and young educated people can more easily integrate into other parties.

What is happening today in TAMI is similar to the process that the NRP party is going through, where its supporters feel confident enough not to need a narrow-based party.

As for Abu-Hatzera, if I would be extremely cynical, I would say that the only party that could accept Abu-Hatzera is the NRP. Likud does not need him; they already have Shitrit, Katzav and David Levy. Labor would prefer to advance Rafi Adiri rather than admit Abu-Hatzera, especially since he carries the burden of his trial. Only the NRP, through some illusion of keeping peace in the house, could absorb Abu-Hatzera, as they did take back both Hanan Porat and Yoska Shapira.

What's curious about all this is that although the NRP would be ready to take Abu-Hatzera back, he would personally have difficulty in returning to their ranks.

In any case, in the context of TAMI, Abu-Hatzera's future political life would be insignificant.

[Box on p 9] Eli Dayan

"I quit TAMI after the elections. Not only does the movement do nothing, but its leadership has no desire to act. Its parliamentary activities are non-existent and its public activities are moribund.

Abu-Hatzera and the other senior leaders are simply waiting for the opportunity to join a larger bloc. That's my guess. Which of the blocs? I can't say.

I can also say that the second and third ranks of TAMI were full of excellent activists, mostly intellectual students, people who really cared. The party leadership, on the one hand blocked them and on the other did nothing.

Knowing Abu-Hatzera, none of this surprises me. He is more interested in playing political games in the Knesset.

The fact that people are gradually leaving the party doesn't bother him. Even if everyone left, he would remain indifferent.

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ISRAEL

SETTLEMENTS IN HEBRON AREA SURVEYED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Aug 85 p 15

[Text] Some 900 Jews are now living in 11 settlements. The boundaries at the Green Line are the Trans-Judaea highway in the Lakhish area and Lahav in the north, Yatir Forest in the south, the Dead Sea in the east, and Qiryat Arba' in the west. The residents have jobs in Qiryat Arba' and Be'er Sheva, and grow crops in the 'Arad Valley some 30 km away from their settlements (inside the Green Line). Some of the main crops are peaches, cherries, and plums.

Current plans call for the agricultural settlements to be based on hatching coops.

The Settlements

Adura--secular communal settlement affiliated with Herut-Betar, 15 families, a ceramics factory.

Bet HAGAY--religious-communal settlement, belonging to the Amana settlements, 12 families, felt pictures factory.

Karmel--religious cooperative moshav, 25 families, electronic safes factory, field crops in 'Arad Valley.

Livna--secular communal settlement, belonging to Amana, 30 families, private carpentry, plan for developing tourist site in nearby Yatir Forest.

Ma'on--religious communal settlement, belonging to Amana, 15 families, plans for goat shed and cheese factory.

Mezarot Yehuda--religious cooperative moshav, belonging to Amana, 23 families, sheepfold with 700 heads, field crops in the 'Arad Valley.

Susiya--religious communal settlement, belonging to Amana, 28 families, field crops in the 'Arad Valley, experimental plantation, desert tour center and Mount Hebron study center, hostel, and the archeological site of ancient Susiya.



'Omrim--secular communal settlement, belonging to Amana, 20 families, employment in Beer Sheva.

'Otniel--religious communal settlement, belonging to Amana, 15 families. There are plans to relocate the Har Hebron Settlement Council here.

Telem--secular cooperative moshav affiliated with Herut-Betar settlements, 10 families, 20 singles, rubber factory, hatching coop and vineyard in the Bet Guvrin area.

There are also three NAHAL settlements in the area: NAHAL Adura, NAHAL Neguhot, and NAHAL Eshkolot, and NAHAL Neta' outpost.

Two United Kibbutz Movement settlements--'Amasa and 'Asa'el--are being planned.

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ISRAEL

SCIENCE MINISTER GID'ON PAT PROFILED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 30 Aug 85 Weekend Magazine pp 16-17

[Text] Gid'on Pat does not fall asleep at night. At times, he says, he has a nightmare and sees the entire Zionist undertaking crumble before his eyes. Friends invite him over on Friday nights, but he turns them down. He has not invited them for a long time. Last week he said he was sad.

"Enough. I have lost my patience. I am a bundle of nerves. I am being reminded of the failures, as if I am to blame. They give me a list and expect me to react. How long can I go on? It is not pleasant to go out of the house. I see the economy collapsing before my own eyes, and there is nothing I can do." He used to be an important minister. Now he is a minor minister. Only 60 workers are at his service in the science and development ministry, and his budget is miniscule.

His friends say he is frustrated. No, says Pat, the job happens to be interesting, but national affairs are disturbing. He spends a great deal of time at home. From time to time he puts on his work clothes and works in his garden. He calls it occupational therapy. Sometimes he drives his Volvo to Nahariya or Haifa, with no reason. On the way he thinks.

Moda'i angers him. He does not know what is going to happen. "I am afraid that the economic situation will force us to make political concessions. Our dependency on the Americans will increase. We will have to be flexible in the Taba affair. We will have to make concessions in Judea and Samaria and even in Jerusalem."

He has no great love for the finance minister. Last week he got Moda'i upset. He said that the best deal right now is to buy dollars. Moda'i was furious, and asked Peres to fire him.

Pat: "He starts up with me, this man. I don't admire him. He is a mediocrity. An unimportant figure in my life. I stay as far away from him as I can. This man has delusions of grandeur."

His tongue is quite sharp. He whistles his "shin." He says he does not hate Moda'i, only his approach. His friends ask him to control himself, and he

says he did not study etiquette with Hana Bavli. His language is rich in imagery. His mouth is his own worst enemy.

He once told Arabs who did not want to live here to take a cab and go across the border. To the members of the cabinet he described General Baraq's intelligence reports as "little red riding hood stories." He has referred to the economic cabinet as "chatter lake." He told one of his senior workers: "Every dog has his day."

Pat: "This is the way I am. Don't think that before I talk, I think. I don't just talk. When I think I am right I talk. Sometimes I am sorry. Not for what I say, but the way the public hears it. The meaning is not always accurate. I am not prepared to change my style. I don't give a hoot about anyone's comments."

They call him the chatter minister. He once had an agreement with MK Dan Tikhon, that each time he let loose his tongue his colleague would step on his foot. Tikhon kept stepping. One time, while talking to Simha Ehrlich, Pat shouted at him: "Are you crazy, you want to destroy my foot?"

Last week he said he had no choice. He did not join the government to be popular. He knows his words hurt him. Pat says he does not care. He is concerned about the good of the people. "If I knew the things that are said in government sessions are not maliciously twisted around, I would only say them inside the government. But you get up in the morning and you find out some of your words are distorted, and you are helpless. So why should I keep quiet?"

He called Peres' government a package government and made Peres angry. He was one of the most vocal critics of the first package deal, and warned against "economic catastrophe." Last week he said the situation in October would not be much better. The suppressed inflation will erupt. There will be a need for greater devaluation. He blames the Alignment and Moda'i.

Pat: "The people must hear the truth. It's better that way. They say to me: You have to lift their morale, to tell them good things. Why? I envision great difficulties. Why mislead? I don't care if I am not popular. I don't want to find myself in a situation where in 2 years we'll have a commission of inquiry about some kind of collapse, and they'll ask me why did I keep quiet, and I'll say because of the consensus, because I wanted to be nice, because I did not want to undermine the rotation.

"My job is to warn, to teach. I don't want to be nice in the government. I have had enough. In the Lebanon war I saw where they were leading us, and I kept quiet. I can't forgive myself. In economic matters they lead us by the nose, exactly like they did with Lebanon. It is a national crime to see what is happening and not say anything."

He is considered a snob. He always smokes his pipe. His father-in-law sends him from the U.S. aromatic Blend of the Manse. He wears a large gold ring with a red stone. Pat says it is his B.A. His wife, Anne, bought it

for him when he finished studying economics at New York University. They also got engaged at that time. She had her initials engraved on it.

He lives in a mansion in Savyon. His expression is grave, and there is always a sad note in his face. Those who know him say his public image is distorted. He is very down to earth, very warm, polite, and sensitive. He says about himself he is not a snob.

For lunch he has cottage cheese, yoghurt, and green olives. He does not go to cocktail parties in the evening. It is hard for him to play the role of the politician. He cannot kiss people he does not like. He seldom goes to celebrations. Sometimes he drives the Volvo himself. He says he dresses conservatively, always the same clothes. He knows he lacks public relations. He is somewhat shy and introverted. He likes to be called Gid'on.

He was born in Jerusalem 52 years ago and was called Gid'on Marcus. His mother died when he was 6, and his aunt Haya Pat, adopted him. He called her mother, and she gave him his name. His father, Israel Marcus, was a house painter all his life. At 83 he still works.

He studied at the workers' children's education house and hated the red flag. When they sang Tehezana he pursed his lips. He hated hypocrisy. He says a fat woman with her hair in a bun used to chase him away. At ten o'clock he did not get milk, because his father could not pay. Pat says back then he became a General Zionist. He realized all the talk about equality was nonsense.

He helped his aunt in the bakery. He cleaned the trays and delivered bread and cakes on his bicycle. The Pat bakery was well-known in Jerusalem. Their home was above the bakery on Nevi'im Street, and under it was an arms cache of the Hagana.

From the day he changed his family name he grew in a religious atmosphere. His aunt was observant and active in public affairs. Last week he said he might have been influenced by her.

At age 12 he was sent to the No'am Academy, the prestigious religious school in Pades Hana. He was a member of the first graduating class, the youngest of 16 students.

His teachers remember him as being very innocent, a thin boy with a black beret. He says he liked Talmud. His secular past did not stand in his way. The students liked him. His teachers recall he had organizational talent. He collected money among his friends and bought a bicycle for the school custodian, Reb Naftali. Naftali was a righteous man. He went from home to home and performed righteous deeds. Pat bought him a bicycle so that he could perform more righteous deeds.

After 1 year he left the school; he does not recall exactly why. Perhaps because they restricted him. He says they used to send the students to recite Psalms next to each deceased person. "You know what it is like for a 12-year

old?" He says they could not go to the movies and were reprimanded when they swore. "The school," he says, "made me admire religious values, and shy away from being religious."

He went back to Jerusalem and studied at the Ma'ale religious high school. As he grew up he wanted to be a baker, but under his teachers' influence he changed his mind. His principal, Prof Efrayim Elimelekh Aurbakh, persuaded him to engage in public relations. Pat went around to schools in Jerusalem and persuaded the high school seniors to join NAHAL. He attended lectures, and at times discussed politics.

"I was advised to meet Yosef Sapir. With great trepidation I went to the Knesset cellar at Frumin and he explained to me what General Zionism was. It was love at first sight. He gave me some 40 books to read. Every free moment I went to the Knesset to hear speeches. I have been there ever since."

He did not get along too well with Hapdel Hamizrahi. At the No'am Academy, before the elections, they used to send them to put up posters with the letter "Bet." He used to get away from his friends and put up "Gimel" posters--Revisionist Zionists. "Tzadik," the General Zionists, was an old party for his taste. When he grew up he understood.

Before joining the army he studied at the Merkas Harav yeshiva. In the NAHAL he served in Hatzetim, and politics did not let go of him. Once he came in uniform to a convention of the General Zionists. The next day he was summoned to a court martial. His sergeant rank was taken away from him. He no longer wore a skullcap at that time. He says he remained traditional.

After his discharge from the army he sought a political career. His family was against it, but his motivation was strong. "I did not grow up in a regular home. Perhaps I wanted to stand out, to show that I was somebody."

At age 21 he was aide and office manager of Transport Minister Yosef Sapir. When Sapir left the government he recommended Pat to Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the World Zionist Organization, for the job of political secretary in New York. Pat packed his suitcases.

He came back 10 years later with two degrees in economics and a wife, Anne Fikel, the daughter of a wealthy diamond dealer. He was in business with his father-in-law for a while, but politics kept attracting him. He says he wanted his children to grow up in Israel. He and Anne have three children, Daniel, the oldest, age 26, Kfir pilot; Doron, age 24, intelligence officer; and Efi, 14, a high school student. Anne works as a hospital psychologist at Sheva Hospital in Tel Hashomer.

Pat returned directly to the national unity government, to Sapir's office. When he was appointed minister of commerce and industry, Sapir offered him the director general's job, but Pat preferred to run for the Knesset. After the death of Arye Ben Eli'ezer in 1970 Pat joined the parliament. In 1977 he became minister of housing and in 1979 minister of industry, commerce, and tourism.

His political rise was fast. He would later be called one of the success stories of Israeli politics. He never had his own camp, but many supported him. Moda'i was always his red flag.

He was chosen housing minister even though Moda'i wanted the job. When the commerce and industry portfolio became available, he won it, even though they had agreed that when an important portfolio became available Moda'i would get it. Pat: "I am not aware of promising him such a thing."

In 1981, after the elections, Simha Ehrlich wanted to remove him from the government, in order to strengthen Moda'i. He offered Moda'i the job of industry and commerce. He offered Pat to be chairman of the Knesset. Pat said it was a dirty trick: "It won't do you any good. A government is not a kindergarten, where you keep changing toys."

Pat last week: "I told Ehrlich I was too young, this is a job for you." Pat kept the portfolio. Begin came to his aid. He says Begin knew who he was dealing with.

When the Shamir government was formed in 1983, the two fought again, this time over the treasury job. Pat says he did not want to be treasury minister. He was only concerned about Moda'i getting the job. His adversaries say he phoned Shamir and threatened to dismantle the government. Pat: "Not true."

No one knows for sure the real reasons for the hatred between him and Moda'i. Moda'i accuses Pat of undermining his candacy as finance minister. He ties his behavior to his past as an adopted child. Moda'i "knows" that the period had left a terrible scar on him. Pat drops his eyes. He has heard worse.

Moda'i's followers do not leave him alone. They say he is superficial, mediocre, incapable of thinking, lacking in drive and daring. Moda'i calls him a great snake. Moda'i says that hatred and envy drive Pat crazy.

Pat: "Why should I be jealous of him? All he has done is damage. For 7 years he was an unimportant minister. He paralyzed the Liberal Party. Moda'i can rest easy. I do not wish to be finance minister. A finance minister has to be a quarrelsome person, and this is not my personality. Why be the bad guy? I have many friends, and besides, finance minister in the State of Israel is a one-time job.

"When Ehrlich left the finance ministry he offered me his job. I told him no thanks, and wrote a note to my wife: I, Gid'on Pat, hereby declare of my own free will and with a sound mind I do not wish to be finance minister now or in the future, in fact, never!"

He was weakened in the last election. For the first time he felt what Moda'i felt when he was energy minister. He was left with a small office, unimportant. Suddenly his mind was taken up with space ships, computers, microbes, and "Star Wars."

He believes he will succeed. He will settle his score with Moda'i. "He has only taken care of himself. He wanted to be finance minister. I did the

wrong thing by not yelling, by not saying publicly that he was going to cause tremendous damage to this country."

Last week he said that he had been wronged. He is still at the peak of his power. He can make a contribution to the state, and is not given a chance. He may have failed as housing minister, but as industry, commerce, and tourism minister he was a success story. MK Avraham Shapira likens him to Pinhas Sapir.

Yes, yes. He likes the comparison. Pinhas Sapir has taught him, he says, to decide, not to hesitate or worry about criticism. He says he is a bulldozer, like Sapir.

Yosef Sapir, a leader of the General Zionists, was his mentor. From the age of 21 he raised him as a politician. He says he is honest like him, practical like him, does not keep grudges. From him he learned how to talk to people in the third person. In his office he has a large picture of Sapir. Sometimes, when he faces a hard decision, he locks himself in his room and looks at it and wonders how Sapir would have decided. He says it helps him be strong.

Economists appreciate him. They say he thinks clearly. His analyses have often proved to be accurate and dependable. Ehrlich, the finance minister, had sought his advice.

He supported the closing down of Ata 2 years ago, and the workers do not like him. When the economic plan was discussed by the cabinet he voted against it. No, he does not believe in it. It is anti-liberal. It has nothing original by Moda'i: "The plan was elaborated back in May 1984. The Alignment did not publicize it back then for a good reason. It was concerned it would lose votes. Only in May 1985 was it presented to Moda'i in general outline, and he was asked to keep it secret, in order not to affect the Alignment in the Histadrut elections. Why didn't he tell the Likud about it? He was afraid they would discover it was not his plan."

He says he had offered Moda'i his skills and experience, but Moda'i ignored him. It is hard for him, hence, to stand by and keep quiet. If he were finance minister, he believes, everything would be different.

He would not have reduced the value of salaries. He would have set a rate for the shekel, linked to other currencies, and done away with indexing. He would have reduced the marginal tax to 45 percent. Industrial workers would not have had to pay it. Social Security tax would have been cut by one-third. Children would have gone to school 5 days a week. He would have merged the small local councils and stopped supporting them. He would have allowed them to levy local value added tax as they saw fit. He believed it would have increased competition among them. Whoever sold cheaper would sell his goods.

Pat: "You will see, in the end they will get around to my proposals, crawling on their belly. I am frustrated, because right now one can reach these conclusions proudly, not with your last dollar."

Last week he felt alone. He had lost the support of several members of the party center. He does not blame anyone. He just did not have the time to go to the branches and get votes. His friends would say this is his weakness. It is hard for him to take care of himself, to sell himself. He does not even have a political aide. They accuse him of never having made political appointments in his ministries.

Before the elections he travelled abroad at Shamir's request, and his friends were upset. When he returned he said it was more important for him to represent the government than to be reelected. HA'ARETZ defined him as the champion traveller abroad. He is in great demand with the Bonds organization. Few ministers speak English as well as he.

His friends have to push him to take care of his own interest. He is not even anxious to compete for the leadership of the party. He says he does not want to lead.

As a politician he is pale, lacking savvy and charisma. His friends say he is too kind, too soft. The government does not send him on memorial days to military cemeteries. They know he is very sensitive. Since his brother, Lt Col Efrayim 'Inbal, commander of the paratrooper school, fell, it is hard for him. He mentions his name and bursts into tears.

If he were more aggressive, more involved, he could increase his power in the party. He never fights for his principles to the end. He is an enigma to many of his friends.

His political views have surprised them more than once. He was for the withdrawal from Lebanon and against the security zone. He is for greater Israel and against a Jewish quarter in Hebron. I am a hawk because of reality, he says.

The religious members of government like him. He says something of his past remains. He sees the beauty in Judaism. He voted for conversion according to the Halakha and for shutting down El Al on the Sabbath. He does not look sideways when he votes. He votes his conscience.

Last week he laughed at Peres. His return to religion, he said, is a put-on. He is not impressed with his promises to the Orthodox. He knows it is all empty promises. A narrow government will not be formed. "How can Virshubski and Aloni sit together with Shapira and Rabbi Yosef?"

He wants the unity government to continue, but he does not believe it will serve its full term. The political sabotage of the Alignment gets in the way, he says. They have damaged the hope, the faith. He has just started talking to his friends about holding early elections.

Pat: "If they pressure us about Taba, if the prime minister's office decides to work behind the back of the foreign minister's office, if we are not included in the economic policy, we will go to the voters. We should



give it another 60 or 90 days and then decide. If we say yes, we have to go to the polls in 4 weeks, not drag it out.

"I am not worried. Now more than ever the voters remember the 7 good years. They look at their videos, their Subarus, their curtains, and they recall. During the rule of the Likud the worker slept at night, but Begin did not sleep. Now the government sleeps, and the workers are awake and worried."

He believes he will return to the industry and commerce ministry, and Moda'i will burst with envy. "I want people to remember I have contributed to the economic strength of the country, like Pinhas Sapir."

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ISRAEL

HERUT MK RONI MILO PROFILED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Aug 85 Weekend Magazine pp 12-13

[Article by 'Akiva Eldar: "Betar Fan"]

[Text] It was very crowded in Yitzhaq Shamir's office when John Whitehead entered, a new star, an anonymous banker from Wall Street who suddenly landed in the State Department and almost without prior warning took off for Jerusalem. It is doubtful whether "number two" in the American State Department knew that the well-groomed young man next to Yitzhaq Shamir was the Israeli office's "number two." Roni Milo pushed Director General David Kimche to the side of the table, but people at the American Embassy in Tel Aviv are better at understanding the correct seating pattern in Jerusalem. The next day Whitehead met alone with Kimche for what is known in diplomatic terminology "a working discussion." Milo again did the honors in accompanying him to the airport.

He asked me to end our first meeting early in the afternoon. "I promised my son that I would take him to an action film." We met again in his office, at 11:00 am, first meeting in the appointment book on his desk. Next, a meeting with some Samsonov from the party, and on the phone he was asked if he would see a group of Japanese after they took pictures with the minister. In the afternoon he will go to Shamir's office and on the way home will stop by the Metzuda [Herut headquarters] to wheel and deal a bit before bedtime. His true playground is still located somewhere between Michael Kleiner and Mikha Reiser. A deputy minister is still a luxury which no one knows where to place in Herut's almost military hierarchy. Shamir also prefers to save Milo's strength for the dirtier tasks, for "confrontation with David Levy, for exercises and pats on the shoulder for the taxi drivers at the branches. Sometimes he doesn't succeed in controlling his instincts and puts pressure on the reluctant partners from the "other camp." But he admits that the tie of a deputy Minister is choking him. Friends (he has few) say that Roni gave up his expected position at the head of the choir of Betar lovers for the job of a bench player on the sidelines. In a government of 10 important members of the cabinet, and 15 who are "Just" ministers, a deputy minister is not worth much more than Benny Shlita. Milo is paying a high price for the air-conditioned Peugeot and the chauffeur; those who know him know how difficult it is for him to give up declarations such as "Roni Milo claims that the CIA is supporting the Peace Now movement." He was at his best at

the head of the Likud delegation in the Knesset, or as the acting chairman of the coalition. From there he was able to yell that the "referee is a bastard," and to blame Labor's leftist mafia and the media for all the failures of the Likud.

Four years ago he said, "We will purify the offices of the government and we will settle accounts with the press," (Shabat-Culture, 4.7.81) and now--note the difference--"The foreign ministry was established in the 1950's on a decidedly partisan basis. This is verified by veterans who helped establish it. Since then there have been changes, and trainees are accepted on the basis of ads. Thus some managed to get in who are not Labor people. Before I got to the Foreign Ministry I thought it was a cocktail center. Today I know that there is an excellent staff of top professionals, who carry out the instructions of the minister and the government very well, without any connection with their personal views. Despite this I have the impression that the majority conceal their views, out of the knowledge that the ministry higher-ups on whom their advancement depends would not like these views. We have no difficulty today in presenting our views in the ministry." As strange as it sounds, Roni Milo leaves the appointment of close friends to the director of the minister's office, Yosi Ben Aharon, who blossomed in the garden of the minister. The deputy minister points only to the ambassador-designate to Venezuela, architect Oscar Frischer, member of the center, as his personal contribution to the strengthening of Israeli diplomacy.

These days it is not hard to draw out the former editor of the late weekly YOMAN HASHAVU'A," the failed publication of the Likud. When the press is mentioned: "When Shim'on Peres leaves in his Boeing filled with the press on a trip to Italy--silence... because the news people love him, and he gives them favors which are hard to refuse." (HADASHOT, 1.5.85) I told him that the newspapers paid for the trip down to the last penny. Milo did not think that there was any need to apologize to the journalists who accompanied Peres.

The staff say that he knows that he has things to learn from them, and they praise the deputy minister for not being too shy to ask for advice and direction. He would never refuse to eat with a visiting parliamentarian without a word in the newspapers. He has no administrative hang-ups like his predecessor, Dr Yehuda Ben Me'ir, had and he recognizes the limitations of his superficiality. "I don't know if I will ever be foreign minister. But if I could determine the political developments, this is the area which I would like to deal with." Prime minister? "This possibility does not excite me. I saw Begin and Shamir at work and the responsibility is so heavy that I do not know if I could bear it. I would be satisfied if I could be in an influential position at the side of a prime minister who carries out the policies I believe in."

Milo hates the label of a political intriguist. He uses his traditional loyalty to Shamir to escape it. He mentions a conversation in the corridor of the Knesset with Dan Margalit, when Shamir was still serving as house chairman. "Margalit said to me, "Are you crazy? He has absolutely no chance

of becoming prime minister.' In the confrontation with David Levy they also said that Shamir would lose. I was not elected to the Knesset thanks to Shamir, and I owe him nothing. I simply support the man so I can sleep soundly when he becomes prime minister."

When I tell him his political views sound just like Shamir's speeches, he has a ready answer: "It is very simple. I choose to support a man whose views match mine." It is hard to find a crack of originality in Milo's views. He suggests explaining to the world that the Palestinian state is to be found in Jordan, and show that 63 percent of the residents of Jordan are Palestinians. In the Information Division they long ago ceased trying to sell these old goods, which no one is willing to buy. Yet Milo uses them in meetings with guests who are not important enough to get a meeting with the source--Shamir.

The 15 years that have passed since I first met Roni Miligovski, chairman of the Student Union, to today when I sit across from him in the office of the Deputy Foreign Minister, have done something to him. Then, he was one of the loudmouths from the right, a copy of Michael Kleiner and Miki Hirshfrung (today called Michael Eytan), who had already pushed the Labor party student activists outside the student establishment. His cunning and political sense of smell left them behind. Now he has a new problem and it is growing like a cancerous growth on the edge of the nose. Ehud Olmert, whom he hates, joined the party, and Roni knows that Shamir knows that everything he knows how to do Olmert knows how to do better. 'Uzi Landau and Dan Meridor are also carefully accumulating more hours at Shamir's ear. The UJA and Bonds people are courting them for the same reason. This could be argued against, but doing so would require using some gray cells. Roni Milo's world is dominated by black and white colors. Also nicely situated in the front rank of his generation of Herut are Moshe Katzav and Me'ir Shitrit, young men who have proved that their strength lies not only in political manipulations, and have stood the test of execution.

Another sign of Roni Milo's maturing. Only 2 years ago he stated to Avi Bettelheim from MA'ARIV that "if David Levy were elected Prime Minister I would resign from the Knesset and leave politics." He now refuses to repeat that sentence. He has no *causus belli* in running the party after Shamir. Arik Sharon? "When the time of decision comes I shall support the candidate who appears best to me. There is room for people of varying positions." These words were said the morning after the fight in the Herut Center. From behind Milo's head peaked the photograph of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. It appeared he was sadder than ever.

#### Danger in the Prime Minister's Office

[Question] Why do you rush to be the first to attack Labor? To whom were you referring when you used the expression, "an unceasing gossip in the office of the Prime Minister?"

[Answer] I certainly react, and my reactions are sharper than others. I say what I think and then it isn't pleasant for those in Labor who, like the

Cossack who was robbed, yell that we are attacking them. They know that what is said is correct. The leak about our Ambassador to Paris 'Ovadya Sofer's conversation caused serious damage, the significance of which I cannot detail for you. I know that telegrams which reported similar meetings and more secret matters which did not go through the Prime Minister's office were not leaked. On the other hand I was told specifically by authoritative sources that immediately after the government was formed, Mr. Peres was made aware of the dangers stemming from the existence of that same unceasing whisperer in a key position in his office.

[Question] It sometimes appears that the Likud is trying to put spokes in the wheels of the wagon Peres is trying to get out of the mud.

[Answer] The Labor party never stops attacking. For example, the Minister of Police unjustly argues that the war in Lebanon led to an increase in terrorism in the territories. We could complain to the prime minister and the Labor party: what happened over the last 10 months? What improvement is there in the economic situation? We are below the red line in foreign currency reserves. Up to the time of the Histadrut elections we wasted unnecessarily about a billion dollars, simply to make those elections easier for Labor.

The achievements of the last 10 months demand that the Labor party be very careful about being critical of the Likud. True, mistakes were also made during the Likud period. But there were also mistakes before that and afterwards. The Likud can say that in 1977 it received a socially destroyed state. A country in which the dominant phenomenon was the existence of Israel number one and number two. What the prime minister called the gay days of Rome--refers to an improved quality of life of the weak levels of the population by more just distribution of the national cake. It is no coincidence that during the Likud years you did not see Black Panthers. We can be satisfied with these achievements. During the Likud period there was no unemployment like today. Therefore the place for such claims is only during the election campaign. It will not enhance the health of the national unity government and Labor because the facts are stronger than baseless claims.

[Question] Do you believe in rotation?

[Answer] I assume we will make it to rotation, if only for one reason: the situation of the country demands it. When the Likud governments tried to cut the budget the Labor people screamed that we were destroying the education system, or the health system, or welfare. The government was not established out of love, the Likud has not changed its opinion of Labor and I assume that they have not changed their opinion of us. But the condition of the country is more important than the feelings and arguments which will continue to exist between the two parties. The country should not be put through an election the results of which will not basically change the current political balance of forces.

[Question] What do you have against 'Ezer Weizman?

[Answer] We were familiar with Seizmann's views on Israeli-Egyptian relations. He was a dominant partner in that we did not achieve all we could have at Camp David, like the demonstrations here that pressured us to give up more and more. Weizmann was a dominant factor in the weakening of the government position and he continues to interfere on the Egyptian matter. I would prefer that on this subject we hear only the foreign minister's voice, in coordination with the prime minister.

[Question] I assume that you also oppose the preparatory discussions between the United States and the joint delegation. Why?

[Answer] Khali a-Hasan has already stated that the only possible result of the negotiations can be American recognition of the PLO. Husayn's goal is first to reach coexistence with the PLO. He in fact already has such relations with Israel. Apparently the memories of Black September have not left him. Most of Jordan's population and half the government are Palestinians. Husayn has a problem in view of the PLO attempt to place a Palestinian as head of government in Jordan. The agreement with 'Arafat, more than it is intended to advance peace with Israel, is intended to bring some peace to Husayn's relations with the PLO. The transfer of the PLO's headquarters to Jordan is a threat to Husayn.

The problem is explaining Israel's position and the Foreign Ministry is investing great efforts in doing so. We first of all emphasize the damage that will be caused by the delegation meeting with the United States, and emphasize that the claim that the Palestinians are a nation without a homeland is incorrect. There is a Palestinian homeland, Jordan, and the problem of who will rule Jordan is an internal problem of the residents of Jordan. They must decide this in free elections, and in this situation the claim that Israel is the reason for there not being a Palestinian homeland will be dropped, and international pressure on us on this matter will cease.

[Question] According to this we should help the Palestinians control Husayn? To help the Palestinians.

[Answer] In 1970 we helped Husayn overcome the Palestinian takeover attempt in Jordan. It is possible that this was an error. Had the Palestinians then succeeded in establishing their rule there, it is possible they would have left us alone. At present I do not think we should interfere. Personally, the matter of a nation without a homeland disturbs me, and the response that Jordan is the Palestinian homeland is not just an answer we have to give out. As an Israeli and as a Jew who daily confronts problems of justice and legitimate rights of other nations, I conclude that we must free ourselves of the unjustified guilt feelings as though we stole someone's homeland from him. The Palestinians have in historical Palestine 63 percent of the Land of Israel: Jordan, which is a Palestinian country in every way.

[Question] Until that happens, we will become a binational racist state.

[Answer] Many countries in the world have minority problems. This is totally different from the problem of a people without a homeland. Jabotinsky

said, "his thirst will be quenched there in pleasure, the Arab, the Christian, and my son [people]." In my opinion, Menahem Begin had this in mind when he suggested the autonomy idea. The great danger is if we raise our hands and say we cannot live together, a process which Kahane preaches. Our problem will also exist in the Galilee, the hostility which exists there toward Israel is not negligible.

[Question] Do you support the death penalty for Arab and Jewish terrorists?

[Answer] Only in extremely severe cases. I do not think Jews have deliberately sought to kill women and children. If they did behave the way the terrorist organizations do, I would not consider their acts less severely. The attempt to create a parallel with Arab terrorism towards Jews, which started with Hebron, is a wasted effort. The Jewish underground would not have formed if Jews had not been injured there solely because they were Jewish. The government must keep order, but there was a background to the growth of a Jewish underground. We must take care that a situation is not created in which people permit themselves to take the law into their hands.

[Box on p 12]

Roni Miliqovski was born 36 years ago in Tel Aviv to pioneers in the manufacturing of Israeli ice cream. His father was a partner in one of the first ice cream factories in Israel. His mother worked in the Tenuva restaurant on Allenby Street. He absorbed Jabotinsky's ideology long before his brother Mati, four years older than him, married Hasya Begin. When most of his classmates were joining the Scouts, Roni was running to political meetings with Betar youth movement members, to whom Menahem Begin was the idol. Some remember that already when he was still in school he promised (warned?) that when he grew up he would reach the Knesset.

After completing law school at Tel Aviv University Roni became a teaching assistant to Faculty Dean Prof. Amnor Rubinstein, and with the support of his later main rival, Michael Kleiner, he was elected chairman of the National Student Union and Hebraicized his name to Milo. Twelve years ago he married Elisheva, today a PhD in genetics. He speaks often with love about their two children, a boy and a girl.

At the beginning of 1977, a short time before the party completed its list of candidates for the ninth Knesset, the young Herut members preferred their chairman, Michael Kleiner, to him, and it thus appeared that Roni Milo would have to wait for the next round. But already at age 28 he was moving ahead rapidly, and after some successful lobbying in the right places Kleiner found himself pushed aside, and Roni took over not just his place in the Knesset and at the head of the Immigration and Absorption Committee, but also was chosen as the man responsible for the younger party cadre. Kleiner waited in the cold for 4 years, and now he is once again waiting to ambush Roni in a corner, behind the broad back of David Levy.

During his second Knesset term Roni Milo was chosen chairman of the Herut faction and then as chairman of the Knesset bloc and acting coalition chairman, the frequent coalition crises garnered him many headlines. He especially dislikes being reminded of the sorry Prof. Menaheim Eylon affair, who was defeated by Chaim Herzog in the struggle for the presidency. For a long time the media chased after Roni and tried to get him to pay the million shekels he had pledged to LIBI [soldier's fund, Ed.] if his candidate lost to Labor's candidate. The next incident had a happier ending. Avner Serusi, an ex-adviser to David Levy, said in an interview with HA'IR [Jerusalem local paper, Ed.] that he had his political career cut short by a shared taxi ride with Roni Milo during which they heard about Moshe Dayan's resignation as Foreign Minister. Serusi said that they decided then and there to put Shamir in his place. Milo claims his running after and in front of Shamir, like a stubborn bulldozer clearing the path to the summit, began before that meeting in a taxi, in 1972, something like love at first sight. Shamir repaid him with the deputy minister's job in the national unity government. Moshe Katzav, a contemporary of Milo, was sent to the government. If this government lasts, Milo's patron will be 73 years old in the next change of ministers. I wouldn't bet a million shekels that Roni Milo won't find another person with whom "I could sleep peacefully at night."

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# MILITARY BACKGROUNDS OF KNESSET MEMBERS

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Jul 85 Weekend Supplement p 5

[Article by Gid'on Reicher: "What They Did in the IDF"]

[Text] Anyone who wants to know the great and little secrets of our elected officials can now read about it in the "Who's Who" pamphlet, which was published this past week at the Knesset, and quickly became a best seller.

Thus was revealed the military background of our leaders: For example, Histradrut General Secretary and MK Yisra'el Qeysar is a captain in the IDF, while Minister Gid'on Pat was only a private in NAHAL. MK Abba Eban was a major in the British army, MK Eli'ezer Shostak wore the uniform of the Polish army and Minister Moshe Arens was a soldier in the United States army.

More secrets? How about these: Ehud Omert and Yosi Sarid were military correspondents, Pesah Gruper was an officer in Golani and Uzi Bar'am was a scout and guide.

Even MK Avraham Shapira served in the IDF, although MK Yosef Ya'aqov from SHAS did not serve; he was occupied with Torah study. Me'ir Kahane did not serve in our army, and both Charlie Biton and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy were excused for medical reasons.

In the Likud there are a number of former officers. Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i was a lieutenant colonel and Yoram Aridor, David Magen and Ari'el Weinstein were all also officers. The artillery branch of the armed forces is honorably represented in the Knesset. Minister Amnon Rubinstein was an artillery officer and one of Likud's leaders, MK Hayim Kaufman was an officer with the airborne artillery. Dan Meridor commanded tanks, Uzi Landau was a paratroop officer and Mikha Reiser was a sergeant in the medical corps. Ora Namir was a female officer and Shlomo 'Amar was a sergeant-major.

Those who served in NAHAL are a very prominent group in the Knesset. Who did not serve in NAHAL, and more likely than not, as privates: They include Hayim Druckman, Zevulun Hammer, Yig'al Cohen-Orgad, Nava Arad, Jacques Amir and Deputy Minister 'Adi Amora'i. Also serving in NAHAL were Minister Yabzov Tzur and Deputy Minister Avraham Katz-'Oz.

Former Minister Aharon Abu-Hatzera was also a private in NAHAL, but last week he revealed that "by the end of my stint I received a promotion to private first-class."

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

OCCUPATION FORCES ATTACKED--Afghan Muslim revolutionaries have attacked the positions of the Soviet occupation forces and the forces of the Karmal regime in Paktia and Bargam Provinces in eastern Afghanistan. They killed no fewer than 42 of these troops. They destroyed one tank and two armored personnel carriers. Afghan Muslim revolutionaries also attacked two military posts belonging to the joint Soviet-DRA forces in Qades and (Qarshini) in Badghis Province. They killed 60 of the occupation troops and captured large quantities of equipment belonging to the hostile forces. Following these operations, the deputy governor of Qades and 40 Karmal regime personnel joined the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries carrying weapons with them. [Text] [Tehran International Service in Arabic 0900 GMT 7 Nov 85 GF] /12913

FURTHER FIGHTING REPORTED--In (?Paktia) Province in eastern Afghanistan, the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries killed or wounded 33 members of the ruling regime in Afghanistan, including a number of officers. Another report from northern Afghanistan indicates that the Soviet occupation forces launched an attack against the Afghan Muslims in the suburbs of Mazer-e Sharif, in the center of Balkh Province. However, these forces retreated from the region in the face of the revolutionaries' resistance. In other operations where the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries confronted the Soviet occupation and the Babrak Karmal forces in the provinces of (Rozer) and Parvan, the revolutionaries succeeded in downing a helicopter, destroying three tanks and killing 22 members of the joint forces. [Text] [Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 4 Nov 85] /12913

CSO: 4604/9

BANGLADESH

PARTIES MERGE TO FORM BANGLADESH COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Biplobi Communist League and a faction of Samyabadi Dal led by Shah Alam Manik have merged into the new party named Bangladesher Communist League (Communist League of Bangladesh) through a joint congress held on Friday and Saturday.

This was announced yesterday at a press conference addressed by the general secretary of the United Party, Bimal Biswas. The press conference was attended, among others, by Sardindu Dastidar, Tipu Biswas and Abdul Matin of Biplobi Communist League, Shah Alam Manik and Hazi Bashirul Alam of Samyabadi Dal (Manik) and Worker's Party (Nazrul) general secretary Nazrul Islam.

The five-member politbureau of the new party comprises Bimal Biswas, Tipu Biswas, Shah Alam Manik, Sardindu Dastidar and Azizur Rahman while its three-member secretariat has been constituted with Bimal Biswas as general secretary and Tipu Biswas and Shah Alam Manik as its members.

The Bangladesher Communist League and the Workers' Party (Nazrul) will also go for fusion into a single entity shortly through a joint congress. A preparatory committee for the unity congress of these two parties was already formed with Bimal Biswas and Nazrul Islam as joint conveners.

Bangladesher Communist League aims at bringing about a radical change of the society to

establish a new democratic social order and government committed to lead the country towards socialism.

Bimal Biswas said that the party would carry forward the simultaneous movement by the 15-party and 7-party alliances on the basis of the 5-point demand, adhere to the 21-point programme and 9-point programme, continue to support the 5-point demand of the SKOP and the 10-point demand of the Central Students Action Committee and build a movement for fair prices of agricultural produces and checking of price-hike.

Answering a question Bimal Biswas said that identification of the Soviet Union as a social imperialist was not based on an indepth analysis of facts. The party now considers both China and the Soviet Union as socialist countries, he added.

When asked whether Bangladesh Communist League considers the presence of Soviet troops on the soil of Afghanistan as an aggression, Bimal Biswas said, "the Soviet action is unjustified."

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CSO: 4600/1106

BANGLADESH

NATIONAL WATER PLAN WARNS OF IMPENDING FOOD CRISIS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 23 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The first draft on the National Water Plan (NWP) projects covering the perspective period of next 20 years has recently been completed.

It is reliably learnt that a startling conclusion evolves from analysis carried out in the report which is yet restricted to official use only. The conclusion is the emergence of an alarming foodgrain production crisis from mid-1990s. As such the report, it is understood, deals at length with remedial measures to avert the crisis including unprecedented activities and investments in water and complementary agricultural sectors. Implementation of water projects has to be nearly double in the next five-year plans than that in the just completed SFYP, the source said. Various agencies of the Government, however, are not sure whether this can be achieved under present institutional arrangements.

The report has been submitted to the Government in July, 1985 and a Task Force was constituted to scrutinize the report. The report of the Task Force has also been submitted to the Government. It is learnt that the Task Force dealt only with minor technical issues. The methodology adopted is said to be new and very sophisticated.

Meanwhile the NWP reports were also circulated widely within the Government and studied by various experts who appreciated the work done and the main issues and have given valuable guidance for refinement of the plan.

The Government is, however, understood to have instructed the project to resolve the technical issues and carry out further studies specially concerning the very high implementation capability required before taking it to the National Water Council headed by the President.

The project started in July, 1983, and the final report is due in December this year. It may be noted that this is the first time in many years that such a comprehensive water resources planning has been carried out by local experts with only limited expatriate assistance under a UNDP grant.

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CSO: 4600/1108

BANGLADESH

PAPER REPORTS VISIT OF PAKISTAN TRADE DELEGATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The visiting 13-member Pakistani trade delegation met the members of Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DCCI) on Sunday to discuss the bilateral trade relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Welcoming the members of the delegation Mr Mahbubur Rahman, President DCCI, noted with satisfaction that the bilateral trade between the two countries registered an annual average growth rate of 25 per cent over the recent years. There is still a wider scope for expansion of bilateral trade both in terms of value and volume, he added.

The DCCI President suggested that barter trade or commodity exchange agreement between the two countries should be developed to expand and widen the horizons of bilateral trade. He also proposed that Pakistan should buy more tea, raw jute and leather from Bangladesh.

Mr Mahbubur Rahman stated that the climate for foreign investment in Bangladesh was most favourable and felt that investors from Pakistan would take full advantage of the situation and explore the areas for joint ventures. He pointed out that joint venture projects between the two sides could come up in various investment fields including textiles, power looms, irrigation equipment, farm machinery, light engineering products, chemicals, etc.

The DCCI chief expressed the belief that wider trade and investment collaboration between the two countries would strengthen the spirit of economic cooperation in South Asia.

Mr Minhaj Hossain, leader of the Pakistani trade delegation and Director General of Export Promotion Bureau of Pakistan, told the DCCI members that there were good possibilities for expanding bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries. "The purpose of our visit to Bangladesh is to explore new areas of cooperation and collaboration in trade and joint ventures", he added.

The leader of the Pakistani delegation observed that the regular exchange of views between the two sides would have a favourable impact on developing bilateral trade relations and joint collaboration in manufacturing fields.

He welcomed the idea of bilateral commodity exchange agreement between the two countries.

A number of DCCI members took part in the discussions on the occasion. Mr M. Yunus, past president of the chamber, suggested that the proposal for extending credits by Pakistan to Bangladesh on the same basis as were extended by Eximp Bank of India should be given consideration for facilitating the expansion of bilateral trade and investments in diverse areas. He further felt that long-term arrangements should be worked out between the two sides for protecting jute and cotton, two principal export commodities of the two countries, from severe fluctuation in prices.

Mr Ali Ashraf stressed the need for strict adherence to provisions of international tender for procurement to help expand bilateral trade between the two countries on smooth lines. He mentioned in this context about certain irregularities in shipment of fertiliser by Pakistan to Bangladesh. An official of the Pakistan Embassy, however, explained the situation involving the fertiliser deal and stated that there was no irregularity in shipment of fertiliser by Pakistan according to the provisions of the related international tender.

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CSO: 4600/1104

BANGLADESH

REPORT ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH TO UNGA

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury has called for international community's support to the development efforts of the least developed countries, reports BSS.

According to the text of his statement at the 40th UN General Assembly session at New York, Thursday, Mr Chowdhury expressed concern at the deteriorating economic situation marked by a decline in their per capita food production and with over one third of their population living in acute undernourishment.

The text released to the press in Dhaka yesterday by the Foreign Office said that depressing as it might sound the situation in the least developed countries pointed toward "one unfortunate conclusion" that there was little evidence of progress since the Paris conference.

"Indeed, in some respects the movement has been a retrograde one" the Foreign Minister said in his speech delivered in Bengali.

Bangladesh believes, he said, that strengthening of the UN was an "essential duty and responsibility" of the international community.

On disarmament, he, in his statement expressed satisfaction that the two super powers were going to resume their negotiations in Geneva.

On the Middle East situation he reiterated that the question of Palestine was at the core of the problem. He added, it would not be possible to bring peace in Middle East without fully restoring the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

The foreign Minister's statement said that the Middle East problem could be solved on the basis of a comprehensive plan based on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Palestinian and Arab territories including the city of Al-Quds Al Sharif and the participation of PLO as the sole representative of Palestini an people.

He condemned the recent Israeli raid of PLO headquarters in Tunis and described it as a "wanton attack".

He expressed solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and condemned the "abhorrent apartheid policy" of the Pretoria regime in South Africa.

He expressed regard at the continuing fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq and appealed to them to "favourably consider" the various peace initiatives for a "peaceful and honourable solution of the conflict."

He reiterated that withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea

was the essential pre-requisite for a just and lasting settlement of the two problems. He said that the Afghans and the Kampuchean peoples would be restored their inalienable rights to choose freely their own form of political, economic and social systems without any outside interference.

Mr Chowdhury expressed concern at the serious impact of the falling commodity prices on at least 72 developing countries. He also expressed concern at the rising protectionism practised by the developed countries. He called for immediate measures for helping the least developed countries improve their economies.

He called for increased South South cooperation and touched on the development efforts and decentralisation of administration programme of the present government in Bangladesh. (incomplete)

BANGLADESH

FOREIGN MINISTER ADDRESSES BANKERS IN NEW YORK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] Bangladesh-US bilateral relations are based on 'mutual appreciation' of the dynamics of each other's domestic and foreign policies, Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury has said, reports BSS.

According to a Foreign Office Press release issued in Dhaka on Sunday quoting a message sent by Bangladesh permanent mission to the United Nations the Foreign Minister was speaking to a gathering of American academicians, bankers and investors at a dinner hosted in his honour by the Council for Religion and International Affairs in New York Thursday.

The relationship he said has reached 'a point of natural equilibrium' based on 'similarities' in perception of many regional and international issues.

Bangladesh Mr Chowdhury said values this 'friendly and constructive' relationship with the US and looks forward for 'continued cooperation' between the two countries for 'mutual benefit' of the two peoples in the future.

He said Bangladesh pursues a 'moderate foreign policy' which aims at maintaining and strengthening its national sovereignty, ensuring its Non-Aligned status and promoting the cause of international peace, security and stability.

He described Bangladesh initiative to organise regional cooperation in South Asia as a 'constructive and meaningful endeavour'.

Mr. Chowdhury recalled the 'generous economic assistance' from the US and said it has provided Bangladesh 818.4 million dollars as development assistance during the last decade.

He described American economic assistance as of 'great importance' in Bangladesh's development efforts.

The Foreign Minister gave a resume of expansion of Bangladesh-US trade relations.

He said the Government is taking 'pragmatic and positive steps' for Bangladesh's economic development.



BANGLADESH

IDB PRESIDENT VISITS DHAKA, ACCORDS SIGNED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 22 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh will receive about 31 million U.S. dollars as loan from the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) under two separate agreements signed in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS.

The Bank will provide 21 million U.S. dollars to finance procurement of crude oil for meeting part of the import requirement of the Eastern Refinery. Under the second agreement, IDB will give a loan of 10 million Islamic Dinar (about 10 million U.S. dollars) for financing part of the foreign exchange cost of the Kurigram Flood Control and Irrigation Project in northern Bangladesh.

Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali, the visiting President of the Islamic Development Bank, signed the two agreements on behalf of his organisation. Lt. Col. (retd) Heshamuddin Ahmed, Chairman, Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation (BPC), and Mr. M.K. Anwar, Secretary, External Resources Division (ERD), signed the agreements for crude oil and irrigation project respectively.

Monday's agreements, incidentally, were the first two contributions from IDB during the current Third Five-Year Plan.

The agreements bring Bank's approved operations in Bangladesh to 529 million U.S. dollars, including 441 million dollars for foreign trade financing operation mostly in the crude oil sector.

The Kurigram project is expected to protect over two lakh 50 thousand acres of land from flooding and enable irrigation facilities to about one lakh 25 thousand acres, ERD sources said.

Islamic Development Bank, which co-financed East-West Interconnector and Zia International Airport in the past, is now funding with co-donors in the on-going Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Factory. At present the Bank is actively considering to finance the Jamuna Bridge project, Jaipurhat limestone project and procurement of two multipurpose vessels for Bangladesh Shipping Corporation (BSC). The Bank earlier provided 16 million dollars for lease financing of two vessels for BSC.

Mr. M. Syeduzzaman, Finance Adviser, was present during the signing ceremony held at the conference room of the Planning Commission.

#### Calls on DCMLAs

Rear Admiral Sultan Ahmad, DCMLA and Minister for Ports, Shipping and IWT, Monday apprised the IDB President of the Government's intention to procure multipurpose cargo vessels and mother tanker.

The DCMLA told the visiting IDB President when the latter called on him that the IDB could provide assistance to Bangladesh in this project.

Dr. Ali informed the DCMLA that an appraisal team would visit Bangladesh soon with a view to finalising the IDB assistance for the project.

Dr. Ali called on Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud, DCMLA and Minister for Industries, on Monday.

They had cordial discussions on wide range of subjects relating to the sanctioning procedure and assistance to the small and medium industries, credit facilities for balancing, modernisation, rehabilitation and expansion (BMRE) projects, etc.

The DCMLA appreciated the IDB assistance programme so far on many important projects for economic development of the country.

Mr. Syeduzzaman apprised Dr. Mohamed Ali of the current economic situation in the country when the latter called on the Adviser at his chamber.

During the meeting, the progress of the ongoing IDB assisted operations in Bangladesh were reviewed, official sources said.

The sources said Mr. Syeduzzaman had made proposal to Dr. Ali for additional assistance in the context of Third Five-Year Plan specially in the fields of industries, transport and communication. IDB assistance in support of private sector industrial investment was also highlighted by the Adviser, the sources said.

#### Jamuna Bridge

Earlier, talking to newsmen at the airport, on his arrival here Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali said Islamic Development Bank (IDB) is willing to further strengthen its "constructive cooperation" with Bangladesh.

IDB chief said "we hope to expand cooperation" in different aspects of the Bank's activities that included technical and trade fields. He said since Bank's activities had diversified in recent times, there was scope for Bangladesh to get benefit out of that.

Replying to a question, Dr. Ali said financing of Jamuna Bridge was "under consideration of the Bank". He said the Bank would also be happy to help Bangladesh market its jute to IDB member countries.

BANGLADESH

PAPER REPORTS ERSHAD ACTIVITIES DURING UK VISIT

London Speech to Bangladeshis

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] London, Oct 14--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad today urged the Bangladeshis here to live with a sense of national dignity and honour, reports BSS.

Addressing the Zohr prayer congregation at the Brick Lane Mosque in East London following joining them in the prayer the President said Bangladesh has already established itself as a country striving hard to stand on its own feet.

He said in the Islamic world we also increased our prestige as a leading Muslim country and making our sincere efforts to strengthen the cause of the Muslim Ummah.

Referring to the contributions of the Bangladesh nationals here towards the independence of the country in 1971 he said they should uphold that spirit of serving the cause of the country and contribute their mite towards the advancement of Bangladesh.

President Ershad told the congregation about the achievements of the present government during the last three and a half years and said the reforms and changes brought about to infuse efficiency in the administration and bolster the economy surmounting many an odds have proved to be effective and have been yielding positive results in socio-economic development.

In this context he detailed the measures implemented and taken for Sylhet district which included the building of a new terminal building at Sylhet airport decision to set up a university and an engineering college and beautification of Sylhet Town and said similarly a new wave of development activities could be marked elsewhere in the country.

He said the struggle that the nation is waging is against poverty and to improve the condition of the millions who sacrificed and were subjected to exploitation and oppression in the past.

President Ershad paid his respects to the memory of late General Osmany and said the nation will always remember him with gratitude for the contributions he made for the cause of the country. He said his government is aware of the problems facing the Bangladesh nationals here and those are being looked into.

He announced a grant of one lakh pound sterling for the expansion and beautification of the Brick Lane Mosque.

Earlier on arrival at the mosque the President was cordially welcomed by the members of the Mosque Committee and the people of the area.

#### Envoys Urged To Promote Ties

Another report says President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on transit here on way to the Bahamas, this morning held a meeting with the Bangladesh envoys stationed in West and East European countries.

During the meeting President Ershad had free exchange of views with the envoys discussing subjects like socio-economic and political development in the country and ways the missions abroad should work for promotion of export and strengthening economic and cultural ties with countries they are accredited to.

Briefing the accompanying newsmen, Foreign Secretary Farood Ahmed Chowdhury and President Ershad also reviewed the Bangladesh foreign policy objective and activities in various fields of foreign relations.

The President exhorted that the missions abroad should pay more attention to looking after the Bangladesh nationals living abroad.

President Ershad explained the economic and political situation obtaining in the country and steps taken by his Government to ameliorate the condition of the common man. He told them that as national envoys abroad they should supplement the Government efforts with increased vigour and work.

The President also asked the envoys to pay more attention to the promotion of trade favouring their country's economy.

He suggested them to provide more exposure of Bangladesh's development efforts, export potentials and cultural aspects to help the outsiders know Bangladesh better.

President Ershad noted the problems pointed out and suggestions made by the envoys for more efficient functioning of the missions and told them those would be sorted out.

Cabinet Secretary M. Mahbubuzzaman was also present.

Reception at Bangladesh Center

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] London, Oct. 15--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said Bangladesh has to attain self-reliance in vital national economic sectors for ensuring a better future of the posterity as well as improving the lot of the common man, reports BSS.

Speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Bangladesh Centre here last evening the President said all, irrespective of their sphere of activities, should join hands, rising above petty interest and differences to give a big thrust to the development efforts already initiated in various sectors. "We, as a nation, have no time to lapse, but to strive hard for balanced economic development of the motherland for the independence of which lakhs had embraced martyrdom," he said.

President Ershad said the country has to be built with the spirit of the War of Independence.

In this context, he referred to the development initiatives taken by his Government by bringing about reforms and changes in national economy administration, judiciary, land system and other socio-economic fields and said, "The history of the last three and a half years of this Government is the history of hard work and sincere efforts to attain progress specially in rural areas. Now a positive direction has been set for rapid economic advancement".

About political development in the country, the President observed that the moth-eaten politics inherited from colonial legacy which has a bias to negative approach has to be done away with. In the past, it has been proved that such negative and partisan politics pays little heed to national causes.

He said the days of politics of bluff and slogans have gone. It is irony of fate that pursuing such politics, those who strangled democracy in the past, are now shedding crocodile tears for democracy.

President Ershad detailed the efforts he made last year for holding national elections and said, "When a Martial Law government came forward for transition to democracy, it was some of the political parties which frustrated the pursuit for reasons that might best suited to their purpose".

He categorically said that elections will be held next winter and hoped that the politicians, learning from their past mistakes, will come forward this time. They should honour the franchise right of people and allow them to decide on their government, he observed.

The President announced a grant of pound sterling 30,000 for the development of the Bangladesh Centre. The centre, situated at the first chancery of the country during Liberation War, has been a non-governmental centre for promotion of national culture and heritage and providing community services to the Bangladesh nationals living in U.K.

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] London, Oct. 15--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad has categorically said that the Commonwealth should take a more active role to end apartheid, reports BSS.

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) here the President said that the Commonwealth has been designed to play a more powerful role in securing greater economic justice for the developing member countries.

The BBC broadcast the President's interview here last night.

President Ershad expressed the hope that the eighth biennial Commonwealth summit beginning in Nassau on October 16 would be able to arrive at an agreed approach towards apartheid despite reluctance by a particular country to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Turning to bilateral relations with United Kingdom the President said for historic and cultural reasons a very cordial relationship existed between Bangladesh and UK several thousands Bangladesh nationals have been residing in Britain he said adding his government is concerned at the incidents of racist attack on Bangladeshis in the UK.

About the forthcoming SARC summit in Dhaka, President Ershad hoped that the forum would usher in a new era for development based on mutual cooperation. It will create an atmosphere of mutual trust and lead to strengthening of bilateral relations, he observed.

Replying to a question on political development in Bangladesh the President said consultations will start with opposition politicians immediately after the SARC summit to fix date for holding general elections. He said he was determined to hold the election next winter.

The President is of the opinion that the politicians have now realised their mistake in not cooperating with him in the past for establishing an elected government. They will be more cooperative next time he hoped.

About army's role in national development he said the question will be decided by an elected parliament.

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CSO: 4600/1111

INDIA

## RAJIV'S PERFORMANCE ASSESSED ON ASSASSINATION ANNIVERSARY

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

IN another 11 days, on the first anniversary of the tragic assassination of his illustrious mother, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will be completing an year in office. In this short period he had consolidated his power and widened his base in a remarkable manner without creating any political convulsions. The succession has been smooth largely because he understood and responded to the new Indian mood, its quest for stability and urge for tolerance.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has displayed an extraordinary grasp of the dynamics of power and complexities of governance. He has mastered the art of leadership in this short span by creating a feeling of a generational change and casting himself in the role of a man of destiny gifted with a reassuring vision of India's future.

It can be argued that the 41-year-old Rajiv would not have become Prime Minister so easily by simply stepping into the void created by his mother's assassination, had he not been Indira Gandhi's son. But once he succeeded her at that moment of countrywide shock and indignation, he had to depend entirely on his innate capacity for survival to consolidate his position.

Any other young and inexperienced politician would have chosen to play safe by putting off the elections, or even declaring an internal emergency, relying heavily on the sympathy factor to sustain him in power in the absence of a viable alternative who could fill the vacuum and rise to the occasion. But Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took a conscious decision to face the electorate and seek a mandate of his own as early as possible, which his wellwishers considered a hazardous gamble since they did not understand, to the same extent, the psychology of the Indian people.

He was voted to power with the biggest landslide ever in the history of the country, largely because he was able to project himself as the only man who could provide an orderly rule at that critical juncture. In the eyes of his anguished countrymen who were sorely disappointed

by the squabbles of the opposition, he became a symbol of both continuity and change, one who stood like a rock between anarchy and order, as the country passed through the painful phase of an abrupt and cruel end of Indira Gandhi's rule followed by widespread violence.

But the completion of his first year in office is no occasion even for his ardent admirers to count the blessings of his rule, since it also happens to be the first anniversary of his mother's assassination. It will be a more appropriate moment for some honest heart searching rather than routine rejoicing to assess the strong and weak points of Indian democracy, to delve deeper into the causes of Indian dissonance which generated the kind of blind fury and hatred among those demented men who succumbed to the matricidal impulse of killing Indira Gandhi to avenge their humiliation.

The real completion of Rajiv's first year would be on December 31, not October 31, since he formed his new Government on that day with a mandate of his own after his resounding victory in the Parliamentary elections. So he intends to dedicate October 31 to the remembrance of his mother with a fitting observance of this poignant anniversary rather than a superficial celebration of his succession. He will be able to commemorate the completion of his first year in office two months later in a more appropriate context with the main focus on his own achievements.

In the after glow of his unprecedented electoral victory, he became the object of considerable adulation, as though the entire nation was doting on him, expecting him to be a miracle man with instant solutions to all problems. The way he went about tackling the Punjab, Assam, Gujarat and Mizoram problems enhanced the public expectations, whetting the appetite of his admirers for more and more spectacular achievements.

The image builders have been casting him in the role of an Indian Kennedy who is all set to

give the country a new ethos by shedding the accumulated hang-overs of the past and making a determined bid to infuse a refreshing spirit of dynamism into the change-resistant Indian society. The Rajiv phenomenon has thus become a new legend in the present-day Indian life, imposing new compulsions on him to keep on taking some innovative steps to sustain this tempo of high expectation.

### Misconceptions

His forays into foreign affairs have naturally given an international dimension to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's personality, but they have also created an erroneous impression abroad, based partly on wishful thinking and partly on a misinterpretation of some of his policies and pronouncements, that he was quietly going back on some of his mother's commitments. His attempt to improve relations with the U.S. and maintain a better balance in the country's dealings with the two superpowers have been misinterpreted by some illinformed observers and uncharitable critics as an unmistakable attempt to change quietly the direction of India's foreign policy pursuits.

Similarly, his well-meaning good neighbour diplomacy has been misconstrued in some quarters as a convenient cover and a perfect alibi for appeasing Sri Lanka even at the cost of alienating Tamil opinion, while the no-nonsense attitude that is being adopted towards Pakistan is seen as a disconcerting sign of the old Indira prejudices still influencing the thinking of her son.

All such misconceptions can be dismissed no doubt as no more than figments of a fevered imagination or products of misrepresentation to portray Rajiv as an Indian revisionist who is out to placate the U.S. even at the risk of displeasing the Soviet Union. But this campaign of disinformation only goes to prove, and in the process caution the enthusiasts, that it is not wise to attempt a balanced assessment of his performance on the basis of his first year's performance.

As a Prime Minister who had to contend with the inner party squabbles leading to successive splits, Indira Gandhi had to fight hard at almost every crucial stage to assert her supremacy by confounding her opponents. But her son did not have to face any power struggle within the party or in the country. The people accepted him as a natural leader, cast in the role of a chosen successor to his mother who was grooming him for it. He was accepted as an obvious choice when the time came for it with a tragic suddenness for which he was least prepared, with the result that the very fact the mantle fell on him abruptly in this unsought manner helped to make him even more acceptable to the bereaved nation.

After the hurly-burly of the election campaign when many harsh accusations were hurled by him at the opposition, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi made an earnest bid to establish a good working relationship with the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers in the larger interests of greater harmony in Centre-State relations. Though he has replaced as many as six Congress (I) Chief Ministers, he has not invoked Article 356 even

once to impose President's rule in non-Congress (I) governed States. This remarkable restraint has not only earned him the confidence of several non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers but also helped them to establish a good personal rapport with him.

The Sarkaria Commission which has been grappling with this question of Centre-State relations has faded into the background and disappeared from newspaper headlines in the wake of this new development. The reports that the Union and State Governments have been called upon to submit spelling out their views on this issue have acquired an academic character having lost much of their political relevance in the new context of the exemplary restraint and healthy understanding being displayed by the Centre. The Commission can now deal with the issue with greater detachment untrammelled by pressing considerations for a re-definition of this relationship through a reinterpretation of the relevant constitutional provisions.

A Prime Minister has to learn the hard way through trial and error to face the many challenges that confront a government both in good and bad times. As no two situations can be alike in every respect, no two solutions can be identical even when the problems are basically the same if the compulsions are different. So it is idle to pretend that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi could have tackled the Punjab crisis in the same way as his mother did in the changed context without running the risk of yet another setback to the peace efforts.

Similarly, he could not have blindly stuck on to some of the dead ends of the country's foreign policy without making a serious attempt to break new ground and make a more imaginative approach to it.

### Challenge now on economic front

The real challenge and test of his capacity that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi faces is in the economic sphere. Though he has made some bold moves to liberalise controls, encourage foreign participation and provide a technological thrust to development, there is still no evidence of an all-out effort to salvage the economy from stagnation. The phase of political consolidation is now over and he has to follow up with matching action on the economic front to improve the condition of the country's weaker sections through increased production. But the necessary disciplines cannot be built by simply sacking corrupt officials or raiding the premises of tax evaders without matching action to sanitise the country's polluted political life. The new broom effect has yet to be felt at all levels, at any rate, in areas where it is needed most.

The secret of success in an elective democracy lies in its open society which affords ample opportunity to everybody to let off steam without driving dissent deep down. The need for increased security to protect the Prime Minister must not be allowed to degenerate into excessive secrecy with too much compartmentalisation in the functioning of the Government. The attempt to concentrate power in a few hands whatever the compulsion for it is bound to lead to the emergence of subsidiary



power centres ending up in a highly personalised rule with no well defined accountability for one's actions. In all such situations, the Prime Minister, as the legitimate leader of the nation, has to bear the cross for the lapses of his colleagues, especially those acting in his name and enjoying his confidence. As one who has been receiving so much affection from his people, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to develop an equation with his people by making himself more accessible to his admirers and critics alike. And it is the interaction of differing opinions that leads to consensus by harnessing conflicting views to produce the quintessence of basic understanding in upholding the country's values and articulating its aspirations.

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INDIA

# CPI-M LEADER, OFFICIAL SCORE RAJIV PERFORMANCE

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Oct 85 p 12

[Text]

VIJAYAWADA, Oct. 23.

Mr. E. M. S. Nambuthiripad, CPI(M) General Secretary, has blamed the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for "mortgaging the country's economic policies to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund "for getting financial aid and warned the people that this would ultimately affect the peace stance now adopted by the country.

Addressing a public meeting organised at the conclusion of a three-day State conference of the CPI(M) at Guntur, he said the economic policies "were not formulated in Delhi but in the headquarters of the World Bank and IMF". Mr. Gandhi had deviated from the economic policies pursued by Nehru and Indira Gandhi and "bowed" to financial institutions in throwing open the doors to multinationals, imposing no restrictions on industrialists and in doing away with subsidies that provided marginal relief to poor people. Several countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia had realised through experience the mistake of accepting conditional aid from the World Bank and IMF. Unless the Government changed its policy in inviting multinationals, its foreign policy though on the right path now, would be affected to "favour imperialism", Mr. Nambuthiripad cautioned.

He said the "wrong" policies pursued by the Congress (I) Government were taking the country from bad to worse economically, socially and culturally. The number of unemployed youth was increasing at the rate of 10 lakhs, per year and stood at 2.5 crores now, not to speak of millions of unemployed rural poor. Instead of solving the basic problems of unemployment and poverty, the Congress (I) Government was "Raking up caste and communal differences to divide the people" that resulted in the problems in Assam, Punjab and anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat. Some opposition parties like the BJP, Janata, Christian Separatists and Muslim organisations were equally responsible for "exploiting fissiparous tendencies". Under the circumstances, the need for unity of left, secular and democratic

forces in the country with a common programme to fight authoritarianism of the Congress (I) on one hand and disruptive forces on the other and forge an alternative of the Congress (I) was vital. He rejected the idea of merger of CPI and CPI(M) as basic differences still existed between them. He called upon the CPI to stop talking of merger and start working together on problems like land reforms, unemployment and disruptive forces with the help of a coordination committee at the national level.

Mr. Makineni Basvapunniah, Politbureau member, said undue credit was given to Mr. Gandhi, for solving the Punjab and Assam problems. He said it was not Hindu-Sikh unity that won the elections in Punjab recently, but "Sikh religious fanaticism". The Congress (I) yielded ground to the Akali Dal in a bid to solve the Punjab problem. He asked the people not to be hasty in praising Mr. Gandhi for solving the Punjab problem, but to wait and see its results. Similarly, the Assam problem was solved by deciding on the cut off year as 1966, which made lakhs of people lose their franchise. It became the turn of Tripura and Manipur to demand that the Government bar Bengalis, who had settled there decades ago from voting.

Referring to the foreign policy of the Prime Minister, Mr. Basavapunniah said, the CPI(M) was not prepared to carry Mr. Gandhi on its shoulders for his progressive foreign policy as some parties are doing". He accused Mr. Gandhi of not forcing the U.S. to stop the nuclear arms race following the initiative taken by the Soviet Union. The "wrong" economic policies of Mr. Gandhi would provide necessary impetus to left democratic secular forces to come together and form an alternative Government soon.

Mr. Hanumantha Rao said an all-party delegation including the Congress (I) should be sent to Delhi to persuade the Centre sanction the irrigation projects and industries to Andhra Pradesh. He blamed the Congress (I) leaders in Karnataka for complicating the Telugu Ganga project and those in Andhra Pradesh for rousing regional feelings of Rayalaseema.

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CSO: 4600/1148

INDIA

## CPI MEETING REJECTS POSTPONEMENT OF PARTY CONGRESS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 17--A full meeting of the Central Secretariat of the CPI here last week reportedly rejected by a majority a proposal of the party general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, to postpone the holding of the 13th party congress in Patna in February next year.

This development brought into the open the sharp differences between Mr Rao and the majority members in the Central Secretariat who insisted that the congress be held as scheduled.

Mr Rao has now convened a meeting of the central executive committee of the party on October 28 to seek the postponement of the party congress. He also called a meeting in November of the National Council which is the party's highest policy-making body to obtain its sanction for his proposal.

Mr Rao, as the general secretary, has not started preparing his documents for the party congress--the main draft political resolution and the political review. Indeed, there are no signs of preparation for the party congress at the [word illegible] Bhawan.

What has led to the sharp differences between him and other senior party leaders at the central level is that Mr Rao is now no longer an adherent of the party's official line of opposing the Congress (I) and Mr Rajiv Gandhi. (Until Mrs Indira Gandhi's death, Mr Rao and senior central leaders were one in following the anti-Congress (I), anti-Mrs Gandhi line all along. There was unanimity in the Central Secretariat then.)

The majority of leaders in the Central Secretariat are not prepared to accept the line of the Soviet Communist Party that the CPI should dilute its opposition to the Prime Minister and ignore his new economic policy favouring the private sector, liberalized imports of technology from foreign multinationals.

The central point of the Soviet Communist Party is that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is "anti-USA" and is following the non-aligned policy and is anti-war and is for peace. Mr Rajiv Gandhi, according to the Soviet Communist leadership, is following the policies of Indira Gandhi.

Mr Rao, it is understood, has recently committed to the Soviet Communist leadership that he accepts the Moscow-formulation on India, particularly on Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his non-aligned foreign policy. Mr Rao expects that the change in his line will gain him Soviet Communist Party support as the general secretary of the CPI.

Mr Rao wants that the 13th Congress of the CPI to be held after the Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in the last week of February next year, a week after the CPI's Congress. The Soviet Communist Party Congress is bound to support Mr Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister. There are clearly two stands in the CPI. One section, now led by Mr Rao, feels that the CPI should accept the lead given by the Soviet Communist Party Congress by its formulation on India, and Mr Rajiv Gandhi. There are others who do not want to follow the Soviet party line on India. Mr Rao feels that armed with the pro-Rajiv Gandhi formulation of the Soviet Party Congress, he will be in a better situation to dictate his line of diluting the opposition to Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his Congress (I) and the Government.

Meanwhile, it is understood that the West Bengal unit had almost passed a resolution censuring Mr Rao for his proposal to postpone the party congress. However, it is stated that the West Bengal party has sent a letter of protest to the central party.

As of now, Mr Rao has found himself isolated. He does not enjoy the confidence of the pro-Rajiv Gandhi elements on the one hand and is opposed by the staunch adherents of the anti-Rajiv Gandhi anti-Congress (I) official of the party.

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CSO: 4600/1135

INDIA

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN CPI-M

Report on Draft Political Resolution

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 14--The draft political resolution for the 12th congress of the CPI(M), adopted by the party's Central Committee has expressed fears that the new economic policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government will seriously compromise the country's national-accepted foreign policy of non-alignment, peace and friendship.

The draft document says that the basic postulates of the new economic policy are removal of controls, privatization of the economy, opening of the Indian markets to foreign companies through liberalized imports and gearing up the economy to exports to Western countries. The implementation of this economic policy will lead to object dependence of the Indian economy on Western countries. In these circumstances, the non-aligned foreign policy of the country cannot be taken for granted.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) held its meeting here between October 1 and 4, to finalize the draft political resolution for the party Congress to be held in Calcutta from December 24 to 30, 1985. The document was released by the Politburo member, Mr B. T. Ranadive, at a Press conference today.

The CPI(M) draft document, which is being circulated among the party's rank and file for debate, has said that at present the non-aligned policy is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. While inside the Congress (I) all are not closely committed to it, the other Opposition parties are mostly opposed to the policy of non-alignment and would prefer a tilt in the Western direction. The masses are virtually disarmed in relation to the question of foreign policy.

According to the draft political resolution, the "anti-national anti-people" policies of the Government will bring the country's democratic forces into open conflict with the ruling Congress (I) which will try to solve this conflict by strengthening authoritarianism in the Government.

The draft points out that the fight against the drive towards authoritarianism and one-party rule is taking place at a time when national unity is

under constant attack, when it is being endangered by the compromising policies of the ruling party, the opportunist attitude of non-Communist, non-Leftist Opposition parties and when it is being directly assailed by imperialists and secessionist elements. The danger to national unity and the challenge of divisive forces has increased manifold and the fight for democratic advances is inconceivable without a fight against the forces which promote disintegration.

The draft has noted that the basis of the country's parliamentary democracy is being rapidly undermined by complete "maladministration," deeply affected by corruption, and nepotism, influenced by black marketeers and smugglers, some of whom carry a lot of influence with Congress (I) leaders. The administration is becoming a curse for the common man. An ordinary individual has hardly any chance when pitted against criminals, gangsters or the police.

The NSA, the re-enactment of the ESMA, the Special Court Act, and several similar measures enacted by the Congress (I) State Governments underline the intensity of the authoritarian drive.

The authoritarian drive necessarily leads to greater concentration of power at the Centre and this is bound to sharpen the conflict between the ruling party and bourgeois opposition party. The CPI(M) holds that to maintain national unity, it is necessary to have a proper relationship between the Centre and the States under which the autonomy of the States is protected while the Centre is strong enough to perform its task of national defence planning, foreign policy and economic affairs, concerning the whole country.

The draft has said that the Congress (I) Government at the Centre continues to attack the Left Front Governments in West Bengal and Tripura by creating financial difficulties, refusing to release funds and obstructing the industrial development in the States. The entire aim is to obstruct the mass programme of the Left Front Governments, giving relief to the masses and sabotaging efficiency and their growing polarity.

On the other hands, the Congress (I) at the Centre is trying to woo non-Communist Opposition parties by talking about national consensus. This had led these Opposition to adopt a conciliatory attitude to the Congress (I) Government at the Centre. The aim of the Congress (I) Government in New Delhi was to isolate the left parties, the draft has pointed out.

The draft says that the Congress (I) has no doubt succeeded in improving its image among sections of the people with the expectation that Mr Rajiv Gandhi will do something new. But it has not stopped the process of inner decay. The improved image has not stopped internal in-fighting and dissensions in the ruling Congress (I). Its State Ministries are far from stable. It should not be thought that the majority in Parliament is stable either and that there will not be cracks in the Congress (I) unity and that Mr Rajiv Gandhi will endure.

Besides, the Congress (I) is corroded by corruption, with anti-social elements having a lot of influence with many of the party leaders. The anti-defection law passed by the Rajiv Government is the recognition of the fact that the solid majority may not last. The process of disintegration inside the Congress (I) has already started. Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat are a few examples. Dissidence of interest in the Congress (I) have reached a stage that it is incapable of functioning democratically. Pursuit of authoritarian practices in the government is accompanied by authoritarian practices in the organization itself, the draft has said.

#### Challenge to Congress-I Unlikely

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 8

[Editorial: "The Marxist Critique"]

[Text] The CPI (M)'s draft political resolution, adopted by its Central Committee for the forthcoming party congress, is not entirely coherent in its criticism of the Union Government and the ruling party under Mr Rajiv Gandhi's leadership. The sharpest attacks are understandably directed at the Centre's economic policies, the main argument being that they are "anti-people"--presumably in the sense that they will add to the hardship and economic insecurity of the poorer people. Implicit is the corollary that they are intended to serve the interests of the economically dominant classes. This argument is not new or unexpected; but it does not seem to have been clearly developed. The resolution expresses concern over removal of controls, privatization, opening up the Indian market to foreign companies through liberalized imports, and gearing up the economy for exports to the West. But it does not explain how all this will necessarily impose a "terrific load of exploitation" on the people, especially when even the CPI (M)-led Left Front Government in West Bengal seems now to recognize that a considerable degree of freedom from doctrinaire constraints and bureaucratic controls--even a measure of privatization--is needed for a general economic revival without which there is no hope of improvement in the condition of the poor.

In fact, the purely economic consequences of the Centre's economic policies seem to have received less pointed attention than the likely political effects. The CPI (M) fears that the economic thrust will push India into a position of abject dependence on the West, which cannot but compromise the country's policy of non-alignment. This, too, was a predictable Marxist position, but the criticism loses much of its force when the resolution acknowledges that the non-aligned policy is now almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Alleging that not all in the Congress (I) are committed to non-alignment, the CPI (M) also says that most of the other Opposition parties would prefer a pro-Western tilt. Yet it predicts not only "mass resistance" to the ruling party but an "open conflict" between the party and the "democratic forces". Apparently, the resistance will be inspired by a general realization of the ruling party's "incapacity to protect national unity" (rather than by the consequences of its economic policies) and the conflict with democratic forces (which presumably include

even those with a pro-Western bias) will be precipitated by the Centre's authoritarianism in response to the challenge of divisive forces. The correlation of forces, to use a familiar Marxist phrase, is rather confused.

There seems to be further confusion in respect of national unity. In the context of Assam and Punjab, the CPI (M)'s condemnatory references to regional and communal forces allegedly playing into the hands of imperialist conspirators, suggest a striking similarity of approach to Mrs Indira Gandhi's; but the CPI (M) is equally disapproving of special measures to meet the challenge, for it regards them as indicative of an authoritarian tendency. At the same time, it is critical of "compromising policies" of the ruling party and "opportunistic" attitudes of the non-Leftist Opposition. The plea for a restructuring of Centre-State relations is easier to understand, but in effect, it is significantly qualified by the Marxists' fear of national disintegration--though they would argue that a new pattern of relations is needed precisely to prevent the country from falling apart. If all this sounds rather convoluted, it is perhaps because the CPI (M) has tried to balance a variety of somewhat divergent concerns. It has apparently given up hopes of a broad but coherent Opposition front to fight the Congress (I), and will now concentrate more on a leftist movement. But even this movement is unlikely to mount an immediate and open challenge to the ruling party; the Marxists would rather wait for the latter to become more vulnerable as a result of inner contradictions and the pressure of unsolved national problems.

#### Shifts Away From Former Documents

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Oct 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Hardening Stance"]

[Text] The draft political resolution adopted earlier this month by the central committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for discussion at the forthcoming party congress in Calcutta represents both continuity with and change from the position defined at the Vijayawada congress in early 1982. The new document reiterates the major components of the Vijayawada perspective: the crisis of the world capitalist system and the sharpening of conflict within the advanced capitalist countries and between them and the socialist countries, the need to mobilise forces in defence of the latter, the "pro-rich" economic policies of the Indian "bourgeois-landlord" state, and the "unprecedented crisis" they have engendered, the renewed "imperialist" offensive on the unity and integrity of the country, the growing "authoritarianism" of the ruling Congress party, and the critical importance of building a "left and democratic front" on the basis of opposition to the "anti-people" policies being pursued by the Centre. The CPM leadership has thus emphasised all the principal elements of its strategy for a "people's democratic revolution." It has also confirmed its adherence to the political orientation outlined at the Vijayawada congress and reaffirmed its commitment to the platform for the proposed "left and democratic front," while adding another eleven demands to it.



However, the draft political resolution is much more remarkable for the nuances and subtle shifts, mostly in emphasis, away from the Vijayawada document. At least four of these are noteworthy. First, the CPM leadership is now more categorical in its characterisation of the economic policy of the Central government as right-wing. It attacks Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's policy and identifies its basic postulates as "removal of controls, freedom for the private sector, denigration and growing disbandment of the public sector, opening up of the Indian market to multinationals through liberalisation of imports and in the name of acquiring high technology, gearing the Indian economy to exports to western countries and scuttling of meaningful planning." The document is equally savage on the seventh Plan which "for the first time" places "a major part" (53 per cent) of the total investment in the private sector and holds out the prospect of "increased exploitation, increased misery and danger to the independence of the Indian economy."

Secondly, the CPM draft resolution is distinguished by a recurring emphasis on the unity and integrity of the country which, it says, are threatened as never before, as exemplified by the "secessionist challenges" in Punjab and Assam backed by the forces of "imperialism" and their "destabilisation" manoeuvres. It argues that the Congress party and its government are incapable of meeting these challenges politically, that the Congress adopts "compromising policies" by joining hands with secessionist, communal or disruptive forces as in Tripura and Kerala, and accuses it of "bankruptcy" and "opportunism" in Punjab for trying to "outbid" the Akalis in "appealing to Sikh feelings" and "pandering to Bhindranwale."

Thirdly, the new CPM document is even more harsh on the new Congress leadership in its analysis of India's foreign policy. "The non-alignment foreign policy of the country," it says, "cannot be taken for granted. At present it is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Inside the Congress not all are closely committed to it. The pro-West influence is not negligible. Many do not share the hatred of imperialism born out of the freedom struggle." It holds that the new economic policy must inevitably push the government in the direction of the West and "one big safeguard against imperialist influence and penetration may be endangered." Thus, although the Rajiv Gandhi government has continued with the policy of non-alignment, it is under pressure to align itself with the West, and therefore "vacillations and concessions are likely to arise out of the situation," which can only be resisted by popular "vigilance."

And finally, the CPM argues for a restructuring of Centre-state relations within the framework of "national unity" so that "the states are not left to the charity of the Centre, their autonomy is protected, and the Centre is strong enough to perform effectively its task of national defence, planning, foreign policy, economic affairs, etc., concerning the whole country." In some ways, this formulation, read with the emphasis on defending and "strengthening" the unity and integrity of the country, does mark a shift away from the CPM's overwhelming emphasis until recently on greater autonomy for the states.

The draft political resolution is equally notable for the virtual absence in it of an attack on the CPI, its acknowledgement of the relative weakness of the mass movement and, most of all, for the view that "in spite of the loss of influence after the December 1984 Lok Sabha elections, the ruling Congress under Rajiv Gandhi's leadership, rouses hope among wide sections (of the people) that something new is happening" and that "the Punjab accord, the Assam settlement and the promise of a clean administration are accepted by large sections as a Congress attempt to strike a new path." However, warns the draft resolution, the "anti-people and anti-national" policies of the government, growing "maladministration," which increasingly undermines parliamentary democracy, and the rising "authoritarianism" of the ruling party will in combination with the deepening crisis produce "heightened political activity of the masses," and increased militancy and resistance amongst them.

#### Leadership Accused of 'Revisionism'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] Calcutta, Oct 15--The CPI-M leadership is facing severe criticism for its alleged revisionism from its local committees, especially those in Howrah, 24 Parganas, Hooghly and Calcutta. The main thrust of the blame is the failure of the party leaders to theoretically convince the ranks regarding the dilemma confronting the party today in the background of its old formulations, stamped with Maoist simplifications.

The Jyoti Basu Government for instance, is being criticised for not being "an instrument for intensifying the struggle", an undefined slogan very popular in the past with leaders like late Promote Das Gupta and some others at the top.

This slogan propounded the theory that in the existing circumstances the Left Front Government cannot undertake any pro-people, socially durable reforms, but can only endow the masses with the democratic rights to struggle for social transformation, giving some relief in the meanwhile.

As a result the salaries, etc. of the organised sector, Government employees, teachers, municipal employees and so on were raised at one go in conformity with the central employees, without taking measures to proportionately increase the internal resource mobilisation, seriously affecting development work of the State.

Besides, a pointless debate was allowed to continue in the party from 1977 to 1982 which in effect held that expansion of irrigation and water management would tend to help only rich farmers and invite the penetration of multinationals in Bengal's agriculture, by way of input supply.

Ironically, today when the State Planning Board sponsored conference of the eminent economists hold that to create a bigger domestic market and help the well-being of the masses, rapid expansion of the irrigation and drainage, etc. is crucial, may in the party feel that it denotes revisionist tendencies and a trend towards class collaboration.

In this background, serious misgivings have surfaced regarding the industrial policy of the State Government. Mr Basu has declared that he would welcome investments by the multinationals and Indian monopolies in the State within the framework of planning, FERA and MRTP provisions, while even the draft central committee political resolution to be finalised at the forthcoming party congress warns the country as a whole against the alleged trend at the Centre to encourage multinationals etc.

Connected with this dilemma is another basic issue which the top leaders have been consistently trying to escape from spelling out in its documents. This pertains to whether in the Indian circumstances the party divines the possibility of the peaceful, democratic transformation of the country. Most of the inner party controversies and confusion tend to stem for this basic question, for too long the CPI-M had held a contrary view.

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CSO: 4600/1134

INDIA

## BREAKTHROUGH IN NONCONVENTIONAL ENERGY EXTRACTION

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 20 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 19--India has made a breakthrough in an area of high technology and joined an exclusive "club" of which the two superpowers could be said to be the members. China has just initiated work in this line but could take five years to complete the first stage. India has completed the first stage successfully in seven years and embarked on the second stage and in about two years could enter the third stage, according to Mr Maheshwar Dayal, Secretary in the Department of Non-Conventional Energy Sources.

The high technology is called cold plasma or magneto hydro dynamics (MHD) and involves extracting the maximum possible energy out of coal--even the poorest quality coal with a very high ash content. The result is direct current which can be used straightway in industries like aluminium and chemicals where power is almost a raw material. Indian coal has an ash content of 35 percent upwards but for the MHD process the quality or lack of it in coal is no problem.

It has been known that the efficiency of thermal plants is low in many ways--plant load factor varying generally from 20 percent to 50 percent, though in rare cases it is 70 percent to 80 percent (especially in Punjab) but conventional thermal plants use only 30 percent to 40 percent of the energy of coal, 60 percent to 70 percent going waste. By the cold plasma process this efficiency could be increased to 50 percent to 60 percent--a 20 percent gain and this is the maximum possible.

A pilot project using the cold plasma technology known as MHD (a magneto hydro dynamics) has been built in Tiruchirapalli (Tamil Nadu) in the complex of the Bharat Heavy Electricals in cooperation with the Bhaba Atomic Research Centre (BARC).

This is a research and development project assisted by the Non-Conventional Energy Sources Department in cooperation with BHEL and BARC.

The first stage of the experiment--running the plant for power generation--was completed on August 16 although it was perhaps intended to announce it as an Independence Day gift to the nation but some minor snags delayed the success by 24 hours. All the same about 150 scientists finally made the breakthrough and for two months now experiments have been going on successfully.

The next two years will be utilized for rectification of the equipment or making alterations in it to reach the next stage of stepping up the plant to 15 MW capacity.

Another option not being overlooked is that this technology could be mounted on an existing thermal plant of a large capacity but perhaps that stage has not yet arrived. An objective in view is to build a 500 MW magneto hydro dynamics plant, perhaps before the turn of the century.

A dramatic 25-minute film of the Tiruchirapalli plant going "critical" was shown to a group of correspondents in New Delhi today. Scientists explained the process and brought home the achievement. Blue water gas could be seen burning. Special cameras have taken 17 hours of film of the blue water gas burning process which will give the scientists a deep insight into the working of the plants.

The Indian achievement is significant in the sense that it has been done with coal while the Russians, who are sharing some of their experiences with India, have done it with fuel oil, a slightly easier process. Soviet scientists were greatly impressed by it.

According to details made available today, systematic plant inspection started on August 11 and on its completion the plant was lighted up on the morning of August 14, the temperature and other parameters were then gradually raised in keeping with the various procedures. The magnetic and diagnostic instruments were put into action at the appropriate instant. The installation was successfully put into the power generation mode on August 16.

The blue water gas plant is said to be a heavy maintenance equipment and uneconomical for intermittent gas generation.

Those involved in the experiment feel that research work as well as experimental programmes require that funds sanctioned in the Budget are released on time and there are no delays.

Scientists speak of some spin-off benefits of the experiment like the development of high temperature valves, high temperature pre-heaters and some other high temperature materials.

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CSO: 4600/1155

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS PUNJAB GOVERNOR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] Chandigarh, October 16--The Punjab government today declared that it would give no quarter to any separatist or secessionist ideologies or activities.

Delivering his inaugural address to the newly-elected Punjab assembly, the governor, Mr. Arjun Singh, said Punjab "shall ever remain an integral part of the Indian union."

The governor observed that it would help if the democratic aspirations, demands and claims of the people, as projected by the Akali Dal, were viewed and appreciated in an overall national perspective, rather than as unresolving conflicts and confrontation.

The governor read out portions of his address, initially in Punjabi and subsequently in Hindi. The final paragraph was read out in Punjabi. The text of the governor's address was much too long for Mr. Arjun Singh to complete in 30 minutes.

Describing the current vidhan sabha as "one of the most cherished developments in our contemporary history," Mr. Arjun Singh noted that the recent poll in which the Akali Dal secured a massive mandate signified the triumph of the democratic will and determination of the people over the forces of disruption, destabilisation and extremism.

The political crisis that had earlier overtaken the state was not merely confined to a constitutional breakdown but had also led to the disruption of traditional amity and harmony among various sections. The people had since restored the constitutional process through the assertion of their democratic will against very heavy odds.

Mr. Arjun Singh, recalling the events that led to and ensuing from the entry of the armed forces into the Golden Temple, stated that no one would be able to disregard the tragic circumstances in which "the catastrophe took place" or ignore the magnitude of the trauma it caused to the psyche of the Sikhs.

The assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi had caused deep grief in Punjab as elsewhere. The tragedy was further compounded by "the furies unleashed in Delhi and certain other parts of the country in which the Sikhs as a whole were subject to unprecedented hatred, humiliation and punishment."

PTI adds: The governor said his government was concerned about the army personnel who left the barracks under "emotional stress" and was determined to rehabilitate them. To achieve this it would not only start political initiatives but would also attach the greatest importance to generating new avenues of gainful employment.

The government would also compensate for the loss of life and property of all the citizens as a consequence of agitations from August 1, 1982, onwards, he added.

The special character of Chandigarh would be maintained after its transfer to Punjab on January 26, 1986 he said.

Mr. Arjun Singh said the quality of maintenance, development and environmental purity of the city, which till now is the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana, would not be allowed to be jeopardised.

The foremost task of his government would be to accelerate development while promoting a sense of social security, he said.

As a first step, the government had started releasing detained Sikh youths. This was in keeping with the concern of his government not to treat the issue of the youth as that of law and order alone.

Mr. Arjun Singh said the Punjab accord constituted the basic framework for settling all the outstanding issues relating to the vital interests of the state.

"My government believes that in the faithful implementation of this settlement, both in letter and spirit, alone lies the hope for peace and progress in Punjab," he said.

He said the martyrdom of Sant Longowal symbolised not only the courage of his convictions but also his faith and that of his followers in the unity and the solidarity of the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Muslims and Harijans of Punjab. A suitable memorial would be built in the memory of Sant Longowal, he added.

Mr. Arjun Singh said the great qualities of farsightedness, fortitude and forbearance that Sant Longowal and the Prime Minister displayed in charting out a path of reconciliation, hope and friendship will bear a lasting testimony to the great reserves of goodwill and accord which subsisted through the darkest of hours.

The allocation of the seventh five-year plan had been finalised at Rs. 3,285 crore against the sixth plan outlay of Rs. 1,957 crores. Initial action

in framing the final plan for 1986-87 had already been taken and the government proposed to give greater attention to the removal of unemployment among the youth and to uplift the weaker sections of the society.

He said the government was determined to increase the production of food-grains.

The senior Akali leader and former chief minister, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, was the notable absentee in the Punjab vidhan sabha during the governor's address.

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CSO: 4600/1131



INDIA

## OIL, GAS ZONES IDENTIFIED IN TRIPURA

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] Agartala, Oct. 16--Two new and "highly prospective" oil-bearing zones have been identified on the periphery of this State capital and along the wooded terrains covering the State's eastern border with Mizoram, according to the chairman of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

He told reporters here last night that oil had already been struck in Tripura. Of the prognosticated reserve of oil and oil equivalent gas of 882 million tons in the State, 20 percent was oil and 80 percent oil equivalent gas. An additional reserve of about one million tons of oil and oil equivalent gas was found in the State very recently.

Exploratory activities in the areas within one to 12 km of this town would soon be started when the helicopter-driven rigs were likely to be pressed into service at sites along Tripura's border with Mizoram. The ONGC chairman said the prospect of explorations in the Cachar area of Assam was also bright as the Tripura-Cachar region represented the frontal system of the Assam-Arakan geo-syncline. He said that the ONGC had come to an agreement with the Tripura State Electricity Board with regard to the supply of gas at the rate of 40,000 cubic metres a day from the wells at Baramura near here to run the 10 MW capacity thermal plant coming up near the drilling site at Baramura. Some wells had been dug by the ONGC at Baramura and Rokia of the West district and in Gojalia in the South district.

The chairman said the Baramura wells would be in a position to make available 100,000 cubic metres of gas for supply a day by 1988-89. The Gojalia structures will ensure a supply of over 100,000 cubic metres of gas a day by 1988-89, when the gas supply from Rokia will account for about 100,000 metres a day by 1987-88. In addition to these supplies, the ONGC has already requested the State authorities to finalize programmes regarding utilization of another quantity of about 700,000 cubic metres of gas a day mainly for different gas-based industries in the State.

Three rigs are in operation in the State. The chairman said a joint committee with State Government representatives was already functioning here to work out programmes for utilization of the gas locally. He said he had met the Chief Minister, Mr Nripen Chakrabarti, to discuss this.

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CSO: 4600/1157

INDIA

REPORTAGE ON GANDHI ACTIVITIES DURING UN VISIT

Stopover in Cuba

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by N. Ravi]

[Text] Havana, Oct. 23--It was a red carpet all the way for the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during his one-day visit to Cuba, from the reception at the Jose Marti Airport through a guided tour of the sights of Havana by the President, Mr. Fidel Castro, to a fulsome praise of his leadership and emerging role in world affairs by the old revolutionary in his remarks to the Indian press.

When Mr. Gandhi left Havana for New York on Tuesday, thousands of men, women and children lined the streets to the airport, waving flags and hailing Indo-Cuban friendship. According to members of the diplomatic corps, not since 1974 during a visit by Leonid Brezhnev, had an appeal by the Government brought such crowds to the streets.

In the last few days, quite a few leaders including the Zambian President, Mr. Kaunda, the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, and the President of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, visited the island. And the contrast between the reception they got and the exceedingly warm welcome accorded to Mr. Gandhi was striking.

Jose Marti Order for Indira: Mr. Castro is an emotional man and, clearly, nostalgia and his links with the two earlier generations of Indian leaders had a great deal to do with the gesture and the warmth of the reception. Mr. Gandhi's visit reminded him of his first meeting with Nehru at a hotel in Harlem, New York, where he had gone for the United Nations session, he told the Indian correspondents. Mrs. Gandhi was awarded the Jose Marti Order posthumously in a colourful ceremony in the Palace of the Revolution when Mr. Gandhi received the medal.

Asked of his impressions of Mr. Gandhi during the reception held following the award ceremony, Mr. Castro said he had met him earlier during the non-aligned summit in New Delhi and had a very happy impression. To talk with him now was very moving. Mr. Gandhi was an excellent person, very humble

and very honest and also very intelligent. He was very pure and a man of great integrity.

Mr. Gandhi had made a great impression on him. He was good for the non-aligned movement, for the third world in general and for India. He had met leaders in his lifetime and he was not saying things about Mr. Gandhi for the sake of formality, Mr. Castro said.

During the two rounds of talks held during the visit, the two leaders preferred to do much of the talking themselves despite the presence of large delegations on both sides. The talks ranged over a wide area and touched the state of the non-aligned movement, nuclear disarmament and issues of development, debt and agriculture.

Briefing on summit: Mr. Gandhi's main point was to explain the decision on the sanctions against South Africa taken at the Commonwealth summit at Nassau and the efforts of the other leaders to persuade Mrs. Thatcher to bring Britain in line with the intense feeling within the institution. The accord, in Mr. Castro's view, represented an excellent contribution to peace and the solution of the problems of southern Africa. "It is an important step forward that deserves the congratulations of all progressive forces of the world", he told the Indian correspondents.

While a great deal of the time was taken up by a discussion on what had happened at the Commonwealth summit, the Cuban President made clear his concern over the situation in Central America where, he said, the U.S. was waging a dirty war. "Washington will never be able to stop the Nicaraguan revolution by its war," he said.

At the end of the visit, the mood among the Indian delegation was one of satisfaction that the two leaders had hit it off. And when Mr. Castro said he was looking forward to working closely with Mr. Gandhi, it was clear that he was not being merely polite.

#### Talks With Zia, Zhao, Luncheon Speech

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by N. Ravi]

[Text] New York, Oct. 23--The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, at their meeting here this morning agreed to give a new push to the efforts to find a solution to the long standing border dispute that was in the way of closer ties between the two nations.

After what an official spokesman described as a good encounter, the two leaders who were meeting for the first time were keen that steps should be taken to settle the border issue without getting bogged down in bureaucratic problems. While these efforts were on, the two sides would take other measures to improve bilateral relations.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi told the Chinese leader that a key point in the relations was the border question. Mr. Zhao described it as a problem left over by history.

Both the leaders felt that the two countries must address themselves seriously to this question. The border issue is also to be discussed at the official level talks that are being held in Delhi early next month. In addition, they stressed the need for a constant attention at the political level.

A wide range of subjects were discussed at what both the leaders felt had been a "good meeting". At the outset, the Chinese Prime Minister expressed his happiness over meeting Mr. Gandhi. Both the countries had attached the highest priority to economic development.

Again in a display of the widespread interest that many leaders had been showing in India's new economic policies during the Prime Minister's current trip, Mr. Zhao told him that China watched with interest the policies adopted by him.

Mr. Zhao told Mr. Gandhi that if only India and China developed a better understanding and closer bilateral relations, they would be able to make a much more important contribution to world affairs.

Mr. Gandhi explained to the Chinese leader the types of economic measures his Government had been taking and said these were similar to what China had been doing.

The two leaders touched on the relations with the other countries in the sub-continent and Mr. Zhao welcomed the move towards the South Asia Regional Cooperation. He reiterated his invitation to Mr. Gandhi to visit China soon.

Mr. Gandhi who had already accepted the invitation told him that adequate preparatory work had to be undertaken so that the expectations raised could be fulfilled.

#### Meeting With Zia

Soon after the Chinese Prime Minister had met him at his suite in the Waldorf Astoria, Mr. Gandhi called on the Pakistani President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. At what an official spokesman described as a "very cordial meeting", the two emphasised the need to improve bilateral ties on both a Government-to-Government basis as well and on a people-to-people basis.

The differences on the nuclear issue were, however, apparent. Mr. Gandhi articulated India's great concern over the Pakistani nuclear weapons programme. Gen. Zia repeated his earlier assertion that Pakistan did not have any nuclear weapons programme.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Gandhi and the representatives of five other countries who had given a joint call for disarmament, met to review the response

from various countries to their initiative. They noted the increasing response with many nations offering the fullest cooperation.

"No Camp Follower"

PTI reports:

Addressing a luncheon meeting of the Council of Foreign Relations, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said India "values" its friendship with the U.S. and the differences in perceptions should not come in the way of friendship between the two democracies". "We want America to understand that it is natural for India to see the world from its own vantage point, also to understand that one friendship need not be at the cost of another."

He said India's close and friendly relations with the Soviet Union had developed on the basis that "they do not require India to give up its foreign policy of non-alignment. They have been built on the foundations of mutual benefit, mutual respect and equality".

Mr. Gandhi said India wanted friendship with both the super powers but made it clear that it would not be a "camp follower".

#### More on Meetings, Remarks to Press

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by J.N. Parimoo]

[Text] Washington, October 23--The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in his talks with the Pakistani President, General Zia-ul-Haq today voiced India's concern over Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme.

The Pakistan President is believed to have tried to reassure Mr. Gandhi that it has no nuclear weapons designs.

Soon after arriving in New York yesterday to a warm welcome, the Prime Minister got busy with a tight schedule of meetings and conferences. After attending the plenary meeting of the non-aligned countries at the United Nations, the Prime Minister addressed the U.N. special committee against apartheid. He also met the Prime Minister of Japan.

Yesterday evening, he attended a commemorative meeting of the overseas Indian National Congress and addressed a press conference of the Indian ethnic media in which he voiced his concern over Pakistan's plans to make the bomb.

Addressing a dinner meeting of the overseas Congress, Mr. Gandhi emphasised the role played by the Congress in supporting the cause of the oppressed throughout the world, particularly against apartheid. Mrs. Coretta King, widow of the American black leader, Martin Luther King, was also present.

Mr. Gandhi called upon the Indian community in America to take a greater interest in the development of their motherland. He said his liberalised economic policies were showing results. Critics had feared that his new economic policies would result in loss of revenue. The latest figures, however, showed that there was actually a 22 per cent rise in tax revenues in the first six months of the current financial year.

The Prime Minister said the past year, beginning with the tragic events of October, had been a year of great stress and strain, but India had emerged stronger and proved that it could meet any challenge.

Stressing the importance of non-aligned movement's role, Mr. Gandhi told a plenary meeting of non-aligned countries that the challenges posed by the political divisions of the world, marked by heightened confrontation, were only part of the story.

Mr. Gandhi regreted that apartheid continued to flaunt its unashamed brutality in South Africa and in illegally occupied Namibia in defiance of all norms of international behaviour. The struggle for freedom was intensifying and "we must strengthen our support to the freedom fighters. Apartheid must be totally removed".

Referring to the Commonwealth heads of governments meeting in the Bahamas, the Prime Minister said for the first time a package of concrete and binding measures against apartheid had been devised.

PTI and UNI add:

Talking to newsmen yesterday, on the eve of his meeting with Gen. Zia, Mr. Gandhi said Islamabad's nuclear weapons programme is our "main concern". He said, India proposes to plead with Pakistan to abandon its nuclear programme--the main hurdle in the way of normalisation of relations between the two countries.

But, he said he was also keen on improving relations with Pakistan in every field, including trade, commerce and culture.

India had learnt to live with "the Chinese bomb," but the Pakistan bomb was more of a problem because of the history of differences between the two neighbours as well as border tension and internal unrest in Pakistan, he said.

India does not want to build a bomb and "will do what we can to avoid doing that," he added.

No U.S. Pressure

Mr. Gandhi denied that his government was trying to resume negotiations with Pakistan under pressure from the United States. He asserted it was purely a bilateral affair.

Asked about India's response if Pakistan pressed ahead with its reported decision to make the atom bomb, the Prime Minister said, "we have to see that India is protected."

"I am not ruling out anything," Mr. Gandhi replied when asked whether he ruled out the possibility of India going nuclear if Pakistan made a bomb.

Mr. Gandhi said he did not visualise any immediate threat of war between the two neighbours as reported in a section of the press.

About reports that the U.S. had rejected an Indian request for super computers, the Prime Minister said a memorandum of understanding with the U.S. on transfer of high technology had been signed. He, however, implied India had not asked for such computers.

On why he did not condemn hijackers of the Italian ship while he had denounced the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunisia, Mr. Gandhi said India was against all types of terrorism whether practised by individuals, groups or countries.

Last evening the Indian Prime Minister met his Japanese counterpart, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone and discussed global matters, including a visit by the Indian leader to Tokyo, according to Japanese sources.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nakasone agreed to discuss economic and other bilateral issues during the Indian Prime Minister's visit which is likely to take place next month, sources said. The meeting lasted over half an hour.

Mr. Gandhi is also scheduled to meet the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, tomorrow to ask him to apply pressure on Pakistan against going ahead with its nuclear weapons programme.

#### Speech at Columbia University

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] New York, October 23 (PTI)--The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, told a Columbia University audience yesterday, that if India was stable, "the world is that much more stable."

"India does not want to add to the world's anxieties and suspicions but to reduce them. By solving our problems, we solve the problems of a fifth of humanity," he said, delivering the Gabriel A. Silver memorial lecture.

Mr. Gandhi received a warm ovation from a gathering of top businessmen, government leaders, students and faculty members who had packed the Altschul auditorium to hear the Indian Prime Minister speak of what his country had done with its freedom and "what a changing India means to a changing world."

The president of Columbia University, Mr. Michael Sovern, introducing Mr. Gandhi as India's youngest government leader to address the university, said: "He brings a special lustre".

Previous Silver lecturers have included Mr. Dwight David Eisenhower, Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. Konrad Adenauer and Mr. Willie Brandt. Mr. Gandhi, recalling that his grandfather and his mother had the privilege of speaking at the university, said: "It is an honour to be at Columbia".

The Prime Minister made a vigorous defence of India's non-alignment policy, declaring that "the world cannot be made in the image of a particular gospel. We insist on discovering our own truth rather than rely on a revealed text. That is the basis of our non-alignment".

The Prime Minister said: "We may have made mistakes, but we have never faltered in our basic commitment to the vision of peaceful coexistence of nations guided by different philosophies of social action. What we have worked for is to extend the concepts of democracy to the relationship between nations. We have been made to suffer for our stubborn independence, but we have not permitted that to breed bitterness or hatred".

#### Vision of India

Mr. Gandhi went on to tell his audience about his vision of India. "I see an India firmly rooted in her traditions and yet reaching out to the promise of new scientific knowledge. I see India where diversity is constantly enriched even as her unity is strengthened.

"I see an India entering the 21st century free of the bondage of poverty, and taking her rightful place as one of the world's major industrial economies."

The Prime Minister said perhaps the most exciting challenge in the years ahead was how to make full use of India's tremendous human resources which were her "most precious asset."

When historians look back on this period since India's independence, "they will say that in this half a century, India was transformed from a stagnant colonial economy, beset with poverty and the feudal structure, into a tested, vigorous democracy with a dynamic modern economy," he said.

Mr. Gandhi said India's endeavours would succeed only "if we help the world to cope with the tensions of our times. A widely accepted view is that confrontation between the east and the west is due to their different ideologies.

"This theological doctrine is the great conditioner of our age. If you look back, the whole approach is not so very different from the time when one went to war because one considered that his way of worshipping was superior to the other man's, who had to be rescued from error.



"Yesterday's attitudes are beginning to look shop-soiled. People are now talking of convergence, as if that were somehow a vindication of one's own faith. But new problems are arising. Old theories have no solutions. We have to question our assumptions about the nature of man. Will he fulfil himself by calculating or will he learn to relate himself to other men, to nature, to life as a whole, I wonder."

Mr. Gandhi concluded: "What we need is the capacity perpetually to ask questions about the wherefore of life, somewhat in the spirit of the hymn of creation in our 3,000-year-old book, the Rig Veda:

After all, who knows, and who can say  
Whence it all came, and how creation happened?  
The gods themselves are later than creation,  
So who knows truly when it has arisen?  
He who surveys it all from the highest heaven,  
He knows--or may be even He does not know."

Earlier, in his lecture, Mr. Gandhi, underlining India's unity in diversity, said that through a myriad changes and mutations, the idea that in some basic sense India was one had survived. Religious faith alone could not have been the foundation of modern nationalism, as students of European history knew.

Mr. Gandhi added: "The powerful notion of a common historical destiny has pervaded Indian consciousness from the earliest times. This ancient striving acquired, in one of the most fascinating chapters of our history, the modern political idiom of nationalism in the course of our struggle against British imperialism. Today the ancient tree is young enough to put out new shoots.

"The miracle is that this mass of humanity, larger than the combined populations of Africa and South America, has organised itself in our times into a single political entity."

The Prime Minister reminded his audience that besides opting for a system of representative government, India had also adopted the path of economic and social change through consent. "Ours is an experiment of development with democracy", he said.

'Don't Capsulate'

Mr. Gandhi also advised Americans to resist the temptation of "capsule history" that projected a stereo-type image of India.

Mr. Gandhi said: "A lecture, a book, a lifetime is not enough to give an idea of India."

"We must resist the temptation of capsule history, that remarkable intellectual feat of modern journalism which promises to tell us everything over a cup of coffee," he said. And added: "There is so much to India--its many languages, religions, castes, regional cultures, music, dance and, above all, the philosophical quest of the Indian mind."

Speech to Nonaligned Leaders

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Oct 85 p 16

[Excerpts] New York, October 23 (PTI)--The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has said that non-aligned movement faced new threat of interference and pressure from power blocs and called for strengthening the United Nations to resist pressures from powerful nations.

Addressing the plenary meeting of leaders of the 101-nation movement at the U.N. Headquarters here yesterday, Mr. Gandhi noted that the non-aligned had undergone "a generational change" as dilemmas posed by bloc antagonisms became more complex.

Mr. Gandhi, who is the chairman of the movement, received tributes from leaders of various regions, including President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan, who told the Prime Minister: "The Asian countries are proud of the resolute and wise guidance you have provided to the non-aligned movement since assuming the mantle of its leadership under most tragic circumstances a year ago."

Speaking of the change in the movement, Mr. Gandhi said though statesmen like Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukarno and Nkrumah were not with them, their concerns and inspirations guided the movement as the world continued to be "threatened by bloc antagonisms and disfigured by inequalities."

"Countries not aligned with either of the power blocs face new and sinister threats of intervention, interference and pressure," the Prime Minister told the leaders.

U.N. Becomes Target

The U.N. had recently become "a target for powerful nations who decry its methods. They seek to reduce their own commitment to it and bypass it on every conceivable occasion. They blame the U.N. for ineffectiveness when it is they who render it ineffective. These pressures should make us all the more determined to strengthen the United Nations," he emphasised.

Mr. Gandhi said that the presence of heads of state and government from all continents reflected "our collective commitment" to the U.N. on the occasion of its 40th birthday. The U.N. had come to symbolise "the inevitability of co-existence and inter-dependence for the solution of problems that beset us all."

As the non-aligned movement is poised to pass the leadership from Asia to Africa next year, Mr. Gandhi pledged co-operation and support to the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe--"the redoubtable fighter for freedom and architect of independent Zimbabwe."

In his address, Mr. Gandhi said (editor excerpts): "The world continues to be threatened by bloc antagonisms and disfigured by inequalities."

Today, the non-aligned movement has undergone a generational change. Our earlier dilemmas have become more complex.

"The challenges posed by the political divisions of the world, marked by heightened confrontation, are only part of the story. Our social processes and the evolving pattern of international economic and cultural relationships have raised new problems.

"Countries not aligned with either of the power blocs face new and sinister threats of intervention, interference and pressure. In Southern Africa, West Asia and Central America, as in other parts of the globe, tensions and conflicts threaten to rupture the fabric of international peace and security.

#### Apartheid Removal

"Apartheid continues to flaunt its unashamed brutality in South Africa and in illegally occupied Namibia, in defiance of all norms of international behaviour. The struggle for freedom is intensifying and we must strengthen our support to the freedom fighters. Apartheid must be totally removed...

"...Israel's depredations against its neighbours continue unchecked.

"Poverty and under-development, the problems of debt, of glaring disparities between the rich and the poor nations constitute other potential threats to peace and stability. The thrust for a new international economic order is sought to be stifled at birth.

"...The presence in this room today of so many distinguished leaders reflects our collective commitment to this organisation. We are conscious of the imperfections of the organisation. But much wisdom and idealism went into its making. The U.N. charter is a notable step in mankind's progress. We need to build on what exists and to remove the shortcomings. Withdrawal into isolation will make for a more dangerous world where untrammelled acts by individual nations can threaten the peace.

#### Nuclear War

"For our own safety and future welfare, we must strongly reaffirm the role of the United Nations. The 40th anniversary must see us more than ever committed to its support. Whether in the field of disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, whether in the crusade against all forms of racial discrimination, or in our common struggle to emancipate the peoples of various countries from the ill-effects of poverty, unemployment, ignorance, disease and squalor, the U.N. and its specialised agencies have come to embody hope, change, and man's concern for his fellowman.

"India's commitment to non-alignment is well-known. It is one of the pillars of our policy. As chairman of the seventh summit, presided over by Indira Gandhi, India has devoted its fullest energy to uphold the unity and dynamism of our movement and to maintain its integrity of outlook."

More on 24 Oct Activities

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] New York, October 24--India and Pakistan have agreed to take steps to check across-the-border intrusions. The foreign secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, and his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Niaz Nayak, were expected to meet here later today in this connection.

The matter came up at yesterday's meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Pakistani President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq.

Mr. Gandhi complained that terrorists from across the border were coming into Punjab but, as was expected, Gen. Zia denied this. In fact, he complained that there were intrusions into Pakistan from across the Indian border. The two leaders, therefore, decided that their foreign secretaries should meet to discuss ways to check such intrusions.

India-Pakistan relations were also the focus of Mr. Gandhi's 45-minute meeting with the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan. The Prime Minister voiced the growing concern of the people of India over Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme. Mr. Reagan informed Mr. Gandhi that Gen. Zia had told him that Pakistan had no plans to make the bomb. The U.S. President suggested the two countries should resolve this issue through mutual cooperation.

U.S. Arms Supply

Mr. Gandhi further told Mr. Reagan of India's growing concern over the continued U.S. supply of arms to Pakistan. But instead of assurances to the contrary, President Reagan suggested that the best solution to the problem lay in India improving its relations with Pakistan.

Every time the question of Pakistan's bomb-making activities comes up, U.S. policy-makers seem to forget that for ten long years India has been maintaining self-restraint. India has tested the capability to make the bomb, but it has refrained from making nuclear device. India is protesting now because if Pakistan is not checked, it will be impossible for India to contain its self-restraint. In disregard of this policy, American policy-makers have been equating the two countries as if both of them were doing the same thing--making the bomb.

True to this pattern, the U.S. President talked of the nuclear weapons activity in the region and not in Pakistan alone. He advocated a policy of regional cooperation and mutual discussion.

Making Pak Secure

He once again asserted the U.S. position that his administration was giving arms aid to Pakistan to make that country feel more secure so that it may abandon its nuclear option. It is learnt that Mr. Reagan said nothing

regarding discontinuance of the arms aid after the current \$3.2 billion package to Pakistan ended.

Mr. Reagan's efforts seemed to be directed, instead, towards persuading India to enter with Pakistan into some mutually acceptable arrangement to stop nuclear weapons activity and thus play the role of the "regional peace-maker". He in fact described Mr. Gandhi--in a reference to Sri Lanka--as the "peace-maker" of the region.

Increased Indo-U.S. economic cooperation, greater flow of advanced technology, the need for quicker economic development in India and the need to combat terrorism were among the other issues they discussed.

At his meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, Mr. Gandhi raised the issue of India's relations with other neighbours--Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. But he is believed to have made no reference to the issue of Chinese help to Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme.

Mr. Zhao responded by welcoming the move to hold a meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SARC) in Dhaka next month.

Mr. Gandhi also met the West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Kohl, and discussed with him east-west relations and the need for disarmament. He also met the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr. Olaf Palme, the Chancellor of Austria, and the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, and in the evening attended a reception hosted by Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Gandhi addressed a luncheon meeting of the council of foreign relations yesterday. The Prime Minister said: "One of your Presidents told my mother that the trouble with India was that it did not listen to the USA." But, Mr. Gandhi said the trouble with India was that it thought for itself.

"Differences in perception should not come in the way of friendship between two democracies. We want America to recognise that it is natural for India to see the world from its own vantage point, also to understand that one friendship need not be at the cost of another. We should like America's enormous vigour and material power to be used on behalf of world peace and development," he said.

Mr. Gandhi continued: "India's close and friendly relations with the Soviet Union have developed on the basis that they do not require India to give up its foreign policy of non-alignment. They have been built on the foundations of mutual benefit, mutual respect and equality. The Soviet Union has stood by us in times of national crises. It has helped us in building our basic industries."

PTI adds: "The Washington Post" today quoted an Indian spokesman as denying that India and Pakistan had agreed to technical level talks on the nuclear issue.

A Pakistani spokesman had yesterday told the press, after the meeting between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, that the two leaders had agreed on the desirability of initiating "a process of technical discussions between the two countries on the nuclear non-proliferation issue".

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INDIA

GANDHI MEETS PRESS IN NASSAU; INDIAN DRAFT ADOPTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Oct 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] Nassau, Oct. 18--While a draft on "world order", presented by India for discussion, was adopted today with renewed commitment to the concept of a world order founded on respect for the rights of all people, Mr Rajiv Gandhi at a Press conference stressed the need for strengthening international order, reports UNI.

Mr Gandhi said the existing system had a few drawbacks, but it was still the best. This should be carried forward and deficiencies removed, instead of allowing things to slide to international anarchy.

This meant a system where a country did not act unilaterally. Looking at it in another way, it meant supporting the United Nations and its system.

Mr Gandhi mentioned that heads of Government had decided to set up a group in the Commonwealth at the Foreign Ministers' level, chaired by India, to come up with a resolution on the subject. Whether in countering terrorism or in solving political questions, the world needed the umbrella of a system acceptable to all nations, he said.

Answering questions, the Prime Minister mentioned that this resolution had been sought as there had been suggestions as to how the Commonwealth could support the UN. The legal framework of this was not something that could be worked out overnight and would, doubtless, take a long time, he said.

In response to a question on South Africa, he said India felt that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were the best way. But if Britain could put forward proposals that could achieve the goal, "we would consider it".

Mr Gandhi said such proposals would need to have a proper schedule and a time-frame within which apartheid would be diluted and eliminated. When a reporter asked whether this represented a victory for Britain, Mr Gandhi replied that it was not the point. "If South Africa won its freedom, then we all win", he said.

India called for the Commonwealth's support to the United Nations, asserting that "in the world of today and tomorrow, international cooperation is not an option but a necessity".

The statement by India called for support to the efforts for the betterment of human conditions and the principles and precepts of the U.N. charter. The statement urged the strengthening of the U.N. system and said the world body should be treated as the central instrument of peace, security and cooperation.

The draft said the 40th anniversary of the United Nations should take stock of the U.N.'s considerable achievements as well as failures and allow hope and encouragement from the former to strengthen it.

It, however, expressed concern at the recent trends away from multi-lateralism and internationalism, from a world governed by fair and open rules towards unilateral action and the ascendance of unrestrained power in all spheres of activity, economic and political.

It warned that a return to narrow nationalism, both economic and political, in a climate of tension and confrontation between the nations heightened by the nuclear arms race, invited again the scourge of war from which the world set out to rid itself at San Francisco.

The draft wanted the Commonwealth to voice concern at the threats to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, particularly the smaller ones. It called upon the world community to respond to their vulnerability with "imagination and resolve."

It called for rededication to the principles of self-determination, multi-racialism, human freedom and equality and cooperation between the nations in the service of international understanding and world peace.

The draft asked the leaders of the USA and the Soviet Union to reach out for an agreement on reversing the arms race and on significant reductions in nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

In a major initiative to break the stalemate over the South African issue, Mr Rajiv Gandhi held discussions here today with four other leaders to evolve a consensus on a strategy aimed at ending apartheid, while accommodating the British viewpoint.

The Prime Ministers of the five countries--India, Canada, Australia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, who have come to be known as the "Ginger group" in the 49-member Commonwealth--were confident that the organization would thrash out the issue at the weekend retreat for which they would be proceeding either today or tomorrow.

Later, the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who is the next head of the non-aligned movement, met the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and was understood to have informed her of the views of the rest of the members of the "Ginger group".

Mrs Thatcher is stated to be sticking to her opposition to the application of sanctions against South Africa, asserting that they would harm the advancement of blacks there and in the neighbouring States.



"She does not believe in sanctions", the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Robert Hawke, told reporters after his meeting with Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Hawke, however, said "there are some impositions, if she does not want to call them sanctions, which Britain has itself imposed. But Mrs Thatcher is of the view that sanctions do not work".

Asked whether Mrs Thatcher gave any indication that if things were not working or developing within a year or two she might consider sanctions or consider softening her principles against them, Mr Hawke avoided a direct reply, saying he would be having more meetings with the leaders in the next few days.

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INDIA

PAPERS REPORT GANDHI 21 OCT NASSAU PRESS CONFERENCE

STATESMAN Correspondent's Report

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Oct 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] Nassau, Oct. 21--Prime Minister Gandhi insisted this morning that last night's Commonwealth "accord" on measures to pressure South Africa into dismantling apartheid were a definite plus, a mixture of both economic and, particularly, "psychological" pressures which both he and his colleagues attending this Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting hope will lead to a political dialogue between the whites and blacks and head off the quickly-approaching alternative of violence.

Despite a barrage of questions at two successive Press conferences he held here for the world media and then for the Indian media alone, he refused to be drawn into any concession that either Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had bested the other 44 CHOGM "heads" here, or that they had bested her.

"Mrs Thatcher was very cooperative and we've got a document that everyone is very happy with...we weren't looking for sacrifices from Mrs Thatcher. We've always been together", Mr Gandhi said with one of his elliptic grins. But his comments did not quite coincide with Mrs Thatcher's gleeful comment to her British Press last night that "they've joined me now". And that the stepped-up list of Commonwealth pressures against South Africa were "tiny".

Asked how it was that in his initial speech at this meeting he had called for mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa and now, as one of the CHOGM leaders here, was settling for considerably less, Mr Gandhi replied: "The Indian position remains the same. We are still for mandatory sanctions because we don't feel that lesser pressure will be enough". But he stressed that the importance of the Commonwealth "accord" is that it represents a "consensus" in which the Commonwealth nations now, for the first time, will be taking effective action against South Africa.

'Actual Action'

"I don't think it is toothless", India's Prime Minister declared in throwing a questioner's charge back at him. He also ducked a question that he had

been instrumental in telling the British Prime Minister that if she did not make some concession in her rigid opposition to strong measures, the Commonwealth would be forced to issue two "accords"--one by Britain and one by the other 44-nation members attending.

Why should Pretoria listen now when it has ignored pressures in the past to dismantle apartheid? "It is a question of giving them an idea of the feeling among all the people of the world. For the first time, the Commonwealth has translated that from just words and rhetoric to actual action", Mr Gandhi declared. And then he reminded his Press conference questioners that the Commonwealth had managed to bring about a settlement of the Rhodesian crisis when it met in Lusaka in 1979.

Asked if this accord had not "betrayed" the stronger sanction insistance of the non-aligned movement which India chairs, Mr Gandhi said no, this would be the first time that "mandatory measures will be applied".

On another subject, his leadership here in obtaining a "Nassau declaration" in which the Commonwealth pledges its support toward a strengthened United Nations, India's leader was asked what motivated him.

"The U.N. is an acceptance by all countries that there are certain rules, norms, a certain order, that we live by. There are faults. But the solution is not in abandoning it, but in modifying and generating unity", he declared. Presumably, Mr Gandhi will have more specific suggestions when he addresses the U.N. General Assembly in New York in a few days. But he noted the immediacy of his apprehensions over "unilateral" actions by citing the recent PLO ship hijacking in the Mediterranean and the forced downing by the USA of an Egyptian plane carrying the escaping hijackers.

In a Press conference just preceding Mr Gandhi's, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, black Africa's elder statesman, declared the Commonwealth "accord" brought him "joy". This, he explained, was because "it was important that the Commonwealth send only one signal to Pretoria--that we are united in denouncing it and united in fighting it."

#### More Details Given

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] Nassau (Bahamas), Oct. 21--The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi today said the racist Pretoria regime would have to heed the unanimous call of the 49 Commonwealth nations to change its colour-oriented policy. The economic measures adopted against South Africa at the Commonwealth summit here "will make an impact on the regime", he said.

Mr. Gandhi who, like the Zambian President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, was a key mediator in the dispute over South Africa at the summit, said "the Commonwealth has acted with bite." Although South Africa was not a member of the Commonwealth, a change was found to be brought about because of the sanctions. Quoting the example of Rhodesia which is now Zimbabwe, he said "change is inevitable and even the Pretoria regime knows this."

Words into action: Addressing the world press, hours before his departure for Havana he said he was pleased with the CHOGM document titled "Commonwealth Accord" adopted against South Africa. The summit had demonstrated that it could translate rhetoric and words into action. The singular most achievement of the Nassau meeting was the translation of what had been talked about at almost all the world fora, he added.

Mr. Gandhi said the growing crisis and intensified repression in South Africa meant that apartheid must be dismantled now if a greater tragedy was to be averted. Concern and pressure must be brought to bear to achieve this end, he added.

The aim at the CHOGM was to isolate South Africa and towards that goal the means adopted was a mixture of economic sanctions and psychological pressures, Mr. Gandhi said.

Asked whether India had withdrawn its call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, the Prime Minister said India continued to maintain that line, but within the Commonwealth fold there were various viewpoints and the Nassau document was the outcome of that.

Strengthening U.N.: Mr. Gandhi said the U.N. system might have its deficiencies and problems but the solution was not in its demolition or abandonment, but in modifying it, strengthening it and correcting it.

Speaking to Indian newsmen, Mr. Gandhi said the effects of unilateral were tremendous. "We have seen in the last few days how certain actions have increased tensions in the whole Mediterranean region", the Prime Minister said in an obvious reference to the hijacking of an Italian cruiser and subsequent developments connected with it.

The Prime Minister stressed on the acceptance by all countries that there were certain rules, certain norms, certain order, and that "we live by these. This had been there with human civilisation, but in the last 40 years we have reinforced it through the U.N. system".

New weapons: Mr. Gandhi expressed concern at the birth of deadly, new technology weapons, saying the development had made the world an extremely dangerous place to live in.

The level of danger had been enhanced by the short-time span between firing and striking and computers taking over the conduct of warfare, Mr. Gandhi said.

Addressing select members of the Washington-based press, he said the world was in perhaps a state of more heightened tensions than it had been for a very long time.

Indian dream: Regarding his dream for India's entry into the 21st century, the Prime Minister said the mood of optimism was all-pervasive and India had plans to speed up the momentum that had been built in the country's development.

Rajiv's secret: What was the secret of his "persuasive powers", a British correspondent asked the Prime Minister. The suggestion was that Mr. Gandhi had succeeded in getting the British Prime Minister to agree to the Commonwealth document on South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi raised a big laugh when he replied: "I did not use those powers. She (Mrs. Thatcher) was with us right there."

Talks with Jayewardene: Mr. Gandhi said his talks here with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene on matters of bilateral interest had been fruitful.

In response to a question about the Sri Lankan problem, Mr. Gandhi told newsmen that he was hopeful a positive solution to the problem would be found and that the dialogue with Sri Lanka on the issue would continue.

Arrives in Havana: The Prime Minister arrived in Havana today at the invitation of the Cuban leader, Dr. Fidel Castro.

Mr. Gandhi was greeted at Jose Marti International Airport by Dr. Castro and hundreds of Havana's citizens. He was given a 21-gun salute as he inspected a guard of honour.--UNI, PTI.

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INDIA

U.S. EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INDO-PAK TIES NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

The United States is making some moves behind the scenes to persuade and prod India and Pakistan to strive for a detente in the sub-continent with a broad measure of understanding on fractious issues that continue to generate frictions and produce tensions between them.

The idea is that the two countries should try to establish and expand areas of cooperation; however inconsequential these might be at present, so that they could isolate the more contentious issues that divide them.

The U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, is expected to urge the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the President of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq, when he meets them separately in New York tomorrow to end the current drift in Indo-Pakistan relations with some meaningful initiatives to create an atmosphere of mutual forbearance, so that the two countries could discuss dispassionately what they should do to dispel the prevailing distrust and promote mutual confidence.

The issue that is agitating India greatly these days is Pakistan's efforts to acquire nuclear capability and embark on a weapons programme that would dramatically alter the present balance of power in the sub-continent. But in urging India and Pakistan to arrive at a regional understanding through direct negotiations to keep the sub-continent free of nuclear weapons, the U.S. has been playing down the seriousness of the threat if only to avoid embarrassment to itself under the Foreign Assistance Act.

**Strange method:** The recent changes made in the Act require the U.S. President to certify once a year that Pakistan does not possess the bomb nor is about to acquire it to enable Congress to authorise further annual instalments of the military aid programme. The U.S. Government has been adopting a strange method of complying with this statutory requirement by maintaining that the continuance of arms supplies would reduce the chances of Pakistan going in for nuclear weapons.

At both official and non-official levels, the U.S. has been urging India and Pakistan privately to conclude the proposed treaty of friendship with the no-war provision and then follow it up with a subsequent agreement on military disengagement and a balanced reduction of armed forces to eliminate the dangers of a flare up through miscalculation. The U.S. Government as such has not put forward any formal proposals but it has been encouraging important non-officials to talk of the need for some such imaginative steps to reduce tensions.

The policy of the Reagan administration is not to cut off military assistance to Pakistan to placate India, but confine the arms supplies within limits of Delhi's tolerance. As a balancing operation, the U.S. is now offering high technology for India's defence research and development in several sophisticated spheres. The relaxed Indo-American relationship is also leading to an increased number of Indian military officers being sent to the U.S. for advanced combat and staff courses.

**Charge against China:** But the credibility of the U.S. policies in relation to India and Pakistan would depend on Mr. Reagan's ability to rein in Gen. Zia and prevent Pakistan from exercising its nuclear option, while continuing to receive U.S. arms under his certification. It was only a year back that the U.S. had accused China of assisting Pakistan in its nuclear programme to the point of holding back the ratification of the Sino-American nuclear cooperation agreement initialled by the President.

So it is not surprising that India is somewhat wary of Mr. Reagan's latest assurance that Pakistan has not yet acquired a nuclear device nor is it likely to do so in the near future. But the inability or reluctance of the Government of India to divulge the information at its disposal to substantiate the Prime Minister's repeated charge that Pakistan was on the verge of producing the bomb, followed by the Army Chief's disclosure that it was planning to test the device in

the Sinkiang mountain ranges, has given Pakistan a handle to denounce the whole thing as a propaganda exercise.

It is time the Government came out with all the damaging information in its possession about Pakistan's complicity in the Punjab crisis and its frenzied efforts to build a nuclear bomb to expose the machinations of Pakistan. And, perhaps, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will avail himself of the opportunity of his meeting with Mr. Reagan tomorrow to tell him that if Pakistan acquires the bomb, it would set in motion an irreversible process of nuclearisation of South Asia.

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CSO: 4600/1153

INDIA

INDIA, HUNGARY AGREE ON AREAS OF COOPERATION

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Oct 85 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 15.

Indo-Hungarian economic and commercial relations are poised for expansion, covering new areas for joint venture and envisaging commercial credit from Hungary. This is an outcome of the discussions the visiting Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Lajos Faluvegi, had last week with ministers here.

Talking to newsmen, Mr. Faluvegi said the Indian leaders responded favourably to the Hungarian offer of credit to boost the economic and commercial cooperation between the two countries but felt that, instead of an umbrella-type credit, it could be for projects to which Hungary was agreeable. In addition, it offered to co-finance World Bank-aided projects in India in which Hungarian firms could participate, he added.

Mr. Faluvegi said, the new areas for collaboration included the production of coaches and trolley buses in the vehicle industry, data-transmission in the telecom sector, chemical and pharmaceutical industries, production of machinery and equipment for crude oil and natural gas production, light industries, joint production of shoes and fancy leather goods, and agro-industries.

In order to be able to expand the trade between the two countries it would be useful if Indian firms reinforced their marketing activities in Hungary. An "Indian Trade Centre" could be established in Budapest as a permanent showcase to boost the sales of more sophisticated Indian products.

**Cooperation in planning process:** Mr. Faluvegi concluded a programme of cooperation between the two countries. On behalf of India, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr. Manmohan Singh, signed it.

The programme involves experts and leaders in planning meetings alternatively in Hungary and India.

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INDIA

## SOVIET VISITORS MEET WITH ENGINEERING ASSOCIATION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 24--Office bearers of the Association of Indian Engineering Industry and members of the delegation of the USSR State Planning Committee here exchanged views on Indo-Soviet cooperation in the engineering field.

Mr Gurpreet Singh, former president of AIEI suggested a five-year plan as a basis for mutual cooperation and envisaged a 10-point action plan for promoting the objective.

In response to Mr Gurpreet Singh's address, Mr Y.K. Diakonov, the leader of the Soviet delegation said his colleagues and he were keen on identifying specific opportunities. He said that the Soviet Union was interested in cooperating with the Indian industry in its modernization and reconstruction plans. Such cooperation would also be extended to the setting up of new projects in India with Soviet assistance, Mr Diakonov said.

The Soviet delegation leader discussed the scope for cooperation in the automotive, oil, gas and energy sectors and hoped that specific proposals would emerge in course of the delegation's visits to the 49 industrial units in India.

The AIEI's 10-point action plan is as follows:

The Soviet delegation, at the end of its industrial visits around the country would present an initial list of opportunity areas for collaboration, production sharing and third country project cooperation. AIEI would then follow this proposal and ensure effective one-to-one interaction;

### Capacity

The Indian engineering industry had an adequate capacity to supply Railway freight cars of which there was need in the USSR. They could be effective production cooperation in this field, including part manufacture in India and part manufacture in USSR;

The Indian automobile components industry could effectively cooperate with the automobile industry in the USSR for supply of components systems and sub-systems;

In the oil and gas sector Indian and Soviet industry could cooperate in the supply of equipment and services for oil exploration, drilling and production;

Third country project cooperation should be further explored, especially in the area of construction and turnkey projects which could incorporate Indian equipment and services;

The field of renewable energy, especially wind and solar, was ripe for effective cooperation. Indian industry and its Soviet counterparts could pool resources for joint R and D projects leading to commercialization of systems and equipment;

Exchange of sectoral missions between the Soviet and Indian engineering industries should interact with the various divisions and affiliated associations of AIEI;

Joint drafting of a 5-year plan for the engineering industry's cooperation between the two countries;

Specific follow-up support by the AIEI to the Soviet delegation's discussions and visits; and

Invitation to the committee to put together a strong delegation to visit the 7th Indian engineering trade fair in February 1987.

#### Knowhow

Mr Harbans Singh, Secretary, Department of Public Enterprises in the Ministry of Industry, called for the extension of production cooperation to areas other than machine building. Production cooperation could take the form of production under an agreement of transfer of technology. There could be a part supply of components and materials from the giver of technology and part supply of components and raw materials together with completion and assembly by the recipient of technology. This could be a 2-way process. Similarly, production cooperation could be in terms of manufacture of part of the requirements to a given design in India and partly in the USSR. Several other variations could also be identified. Similarly, third country turnkey projects also offered a major potential for cooperation between India and the Soviet Union. The two sides could mutually enter into arrangements to share their respective strengths in different markets and fields of operation.

In the course of the detailed discussions which the Indian side had with the Soviet delegation, a number of issues covering supply of spares and after sales service in the Soviet Union, cooperation in R and D projects, cooperation in ship repairing and joint working in third country projects were raised. The meeting was attended by over 60 representatives of the Indian engineering industry and senior officials of the Union Government.

JPRS-NEA-85-147  
17 December 1985

GANDHI, ERSHAD REPORTED TO AGREE ON GANGES WATERS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Warren Unna]

[Text] Nassau, Oct. 18--Prime Minister Gandhi and Bangladesh President Mohammed Ershad yesterday achieved an "understanding" of the long-disputed sharing of the river waters.

The agreement, reached at lunch between the two leaders yesterday as they took time off from the current Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting here in the Bahamas, provides for progressive meetings and studies which will be climaxed a year from now with a "summit" meeting for implementation.

According to the official announcement, the two nations' Foreign Ministers will meet here within the next few days to set out terms of reference for a joint study on the available river water resources, "with a view to identifying alternatives for the same to mutual benefit" and this is to include a long-term scheme for augmenting the Ganga flows at Farakka.

The Foreign Ministers will then sign a memorandum of understanding for sharing the waters for a three-year period commencing with next year's dry season "on the same terms as the 1982 memorandum of understanding".

The new joint study is to be completed with a year, with a review six months after its imminent start.

Prime Minister Gandhi will be addressing himself to another neighbourhood problem when he lunches today with President J.R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka.

Mr Gandhi and Mr Jayewardene today had a luncheon meeting here during which they are understood to have exchanged views on the situation in the island arising out of the ethnic unrest adds UNI.

They are stated to have reviewed the accord on policing the cease-fire arrived at between the Sri Lankan Government and Tamil militants.

Sri Lanka appeared to be appreciative of India's efforts to bring about the cease-fire agreement.

Mr Jayewardene is understood to have apprised Mr Gandhi of the steps his Government is taking to normalize the situation back home and its efforts to break the stalemate in the negotiations on the ethnic issue.

INDIA

## INDIA-PRC CONFRONTATION OVER EMBASSY LAND NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 12.

A three-member Indian delegation, consisting of the Secretary in charge of Administration, Dr. J. S. Teja, the Joint Secretary dealing with East Asia, Mr. R. S. Kalha, and the Financial Adviser, Mr. A. K. Banerjee, in the Ministry of External Affairs left for Beijing on Saturday to negotiate with the Chinese Government purchase of the Ambassador's residence and chancery building, besides a suitable plot of land for putting up a block of flats for housing the Indian Embassy staff there.

The visit of this delegation to the Chinese capital, on the eve of the next round of Sino-Indian official level talks in Delhi, caused a flutter in diplomatic circles here, since it was generally presumed that these officials were going to Beijing for some important discussions before the Prime Ministers of India and China meet in New York later this month during the U.N. General Assembly session.

**Real purpose:** It was only after persistent inquiries from many embassies that the real purpose of this delegation's visit was made known leading to some sort of an anti-climax after high speculation about it. But still the very fact that the visit is taking place at this time, before Indian and Chinese officials are due to meet in Delhi from November 4 to 11 to resume the dialogue on the border question, continues to perplex many foreign observers here.

What is really important is that the Government of India has decided to delink the proposed purchase of the rented Indian Embassy premises in Beijing from the continued controversy over compensation for the properties and assets seized by either side during the 1962 conflict. But India will nevertheless press for

some degree of reciprocity in the lease of land and the price charged for it in Beijing and Delhi to prevent any undue burden on either side.

**Nehru's gesture:** When the diplomatic enclave was developed in Delhi during the 1950s, the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, allotted the biggest plot consisting of 30 acres to the Chinese Embassy for a token price of Rs. 26 lakhs perpetual lease. The price for a comparable area in the new extension would be in the range of at least Rs. 60 crores.

But the Indian Embassy premises in Beijing, which was purchased from the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation after its closure, was taken over by the Chinese Government along with the properties of other embassies in Beijing's legation quarter for city development. An entirely new diplomatic area was built and rented to various embassies initially at very reasonable rents which were subsequently hiked repeatedly leading to loud protests.

**Compensation:** One of the unresolved issues cropping up at every session of Sino-India talks is compensation for the properties and other assets seized by either side in 1962. The Government of India took over the assets of Bank of China in Bombay and Calcutta, and also seized a shipment of cotton from a China-bound Pakistan ship in 1971 during the Bangladesh conflict.

The Chinese had taken over not only the Indian Embassy buildings in Beijing and the Consulate-General in Shanghai, but also the properties in Lhasa and other places in Tibet.

An effort is now being made by India to delink the two issues—the proposed purchase of the present rented premises of the Indian Embassy in Beijing and the settlement of compensation claims for the properties and other assets seized by both sides.

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CSO: 4600/1147

INDIA

# EDITORIAL ON PROBLEMS OF INDO-PRC BORDER TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Oct 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Developing India-China Relations"]

[Text]

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's meeting in New York with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, did not produce any major surprises, but sensibly took forward the steps taken in recent years to establish the bilateral relationship on a more relaxed but substantive basis. Well-known basic positions on the nature of the relationship were reiterated. While Mr. Rajiv Gandhi recorded the longstanding Indian official view that the boundary question was a key point in bilateral relations—implying it could not be "set aside" as the Chinese side had once suggested—Mr. Zhao adopted the classic Zhou Enlai position (and vocabulary) that it was "a problem left over by history", meaning a handover from colonial times that two independent nations should not find it difficult to remove through a balance of concessions or give-and-take. If there was any new element introduced, it may have been in the mutual recognition of the need to give a high-level political push to efforts to find a solution to the border question. The emphasis is timely in that a new round of official level talks on the border question is scheduled in New Delhi early next month, and the reading seems correct since the five earlier rounds supposed to come to grips with the fundamentals of the border dispute did not progress beyond bureaucratic exchanges on principles and procedures for settling the longstanding territorial dispute.

The Indian position on the border question is well-known and thus far has not been able to provide for much flexibility in the matter of sectoral trade-offs; on the other hand, the Chinese official negotiators have proved hard-headed

and unwilling or unable so far to come up with a package that appears to give India something promising by way of a comprehensive settlement involving a balance of mutual concessions on territory. The Indian preference for a sector-by-sector discussion of the problem—proceeding from the non-problematical and the less problematical to the more difficult—has hardly interacted substantively with the Chinese preference for a comprehensive settlement. The formula agreed upon of placing the gains made with respect to each sector within the framework of a comprehensive settlement sounds fine on paper, but has meant, in practice, no progress worth writing home about for the negotiators. For one thing, there is a lack of common understanding on the question of what should be deemed marked geographical features—like a watershed or the crest of dividing mountain ranges—for starting sectorwise discussions. Those interested in seeing a qualitatively better and more substantive Sino-Indian bilateral relationship—and it should extend to all areas, political, economic, cultural, educational, science and so on—will expect a more worthwhile round of talks in New Delhi in November. For this, the political instructions to the negotiators should measure up to what was agreed upon formally in the Rajiv-Zhao meeting in New York. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has a standing invitation to visit China, and Mr. Zhao took the opportunity of their meeting to remind him of it: the Prime Minister has rightly made the point that such an event—upon which there will be a great deal of national and international attention—needs solid preparatory work. In other words, the issues and promise involved in India-China bilate-

ral relations are too important to be relegated to the flashy and the symbolic. Nevertheless, when all things are considered, it would be advantageous for the two most populous countries in the world to set a reasonably early time frame for the visit and then to intensify and concentrate the preparations on the priority areas, so that specific and practical gains may follow instead of the kind of vague sense of unease and dissatisfaction that flowed out of Mr. A. B. Vajpayee's official visit to China as External Affairs Minister in February 1979. While India's Prime Minister might see himself as having a lot of time to take on political and diplomatic challenges, he must remember that the top Chinese leader, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, is past 80 and getting on. A good, well-prepared 'summit' with the highly authoritative and reputedly open-minded Mr. Deng might hold a significant political advantage for India.

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CSO: 4600/1150

INDIA

INDIA, PERU AGREE TO EXPAND BILATERAL CONTACTS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] India has agreed to provide technical and other assistance to Peru to help in the Latin American country's industrial development, and has accepted Peru's invitation for expanded bilateral trade and economic contacts.

The moves were made on Thursday when Peru's Industry and Commerce Minister Cesar Atala, who arrived on a three-day official visit to the country, called on Industry Minister N.D. Tiwari and Minister of State for Commerce Khursheed Alam Khan.

During the talks, Mr Atala invited a high-level industrial delegation from India to visit Peru to identify various areas of cooperation. He evinced keen interest in Indian experience in development of silk industry, and indicated that Peru would welcome Indian technology for the development of its sugar-based and paper industries.

The Peruvian minister also showed interest in import of Indian textile machinery, which he felt would be more suitable to Peru's conditions and help generate more employment. Mr Tiwari noted that India had developed its own textile industry and was setting up textile plants in several other countries.

Peru has also asked for Indian assistance in setting up a phosphate plant and cooperation in development of its small-scale industries. An expert group has already visited Peru and submitted its report for setting an industrial estate and a technology park.

During his talks with Mr Khursheed Alam Khan, the Peruvian minister indicated interest in expanding exports of non-traditional products from Peru to India, such as zinc manufactures, alpaca hair-tops, long staple cotton. It was agreed that delegations would be exchanged between the two countries to study the possibilities of expanding trade.

Mr Atala also exchanged views with Mr Khan on other multilateral issues. He stated that his country's position in the GATT was close to India's, and that Peru was opposed to inclusion of services in the GATT agreement.

During his three days' stay in the Capital, Mr Atala is also due to meet Minister of State for Defence Research Arun Singh, who had visited Peru two months back and met President Alan Garcia in Lima, as well as Trade Fair Authority chairman Mohammad Yunus. He will visit Agra for a day before flying off to Moscow on 19 October.

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CSO: 4600/1138



INDIA

PARTIES ISSUE STATEMENTS ON MOLOISE HANGING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

The All India Congress Committee has condemned the hanging of black poet Benjamin Moloise, and appealed to the world community to give thought to taking some drastic action against the apartheid government so as to eliminate the ruse of humanity.

In a statement on Saturday, the AICC termed the execution of the young poet as "an official murder committed by a government which has no legitimacy", and said the spontaneous uprising in Cape Town and other cities has the backing of all peace-loving people.

The impunity with which the South African regime executed the young poet showed that the civilised world has failed to teach a lesson to the racist rulers of South Africa, the statement said.

The two Communist parties of India also called for resolute action and mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime.

In their separate statements on Saturday, the CPI and the CPI-M expressed their deepest shock and anger at what they termed as yet another case of judicial murder by the racist regime.

Calling for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, the CPI in its statement has asked India to press for the measures at the CHOGM at Nassau, and not to give for any compromise "in the name of a bogus consensus".

The demand for sanctions acquires special significance since the Botha government at Pretoria has been continuing its policy of racist torture and murder in defiance of world public opinion, the CPI said.

It accused President Reagan and Premier Margaret Thatcher of equal responsibility for the spate of judicial murders in South Africa.

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CSO: 4600/1156

INDIA

## REPORTAGE ON FORMATION OF NEW ASSAM REGIONAL PARTY

### National Convention Opens

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Excerpt]

**GOLAGHAT, Oct. 14.**—A new regional party, the Assam Gana Parishad, comprising pro-movement and pro-accord parties, was formed here today at the three-day national political convention, organized by AASU and the Gana Sangram Parishad, reports PTI.

The convention, presided over by the former president of AASU, Mr Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, was attended by more than 2,000 delegates representing various regional political parties, organizations and shades of opinion.

The draft resolution of the new party, adopted at the convention, said the objective would be to maintain unity of the country in diversity, democracy and socialism. It will "work for a united Assam for equal representation of all sections of the people for socio-political development and preservation of ethnic identities, languages, religions and cultural heritage".

The convention, which began yesterday with the purpose of forming the new party, elected its 33-member executive committee with Mr Mahanta as the working president of a four-member presidium.

The other members are Mr Thanagar Boro of Purbanchalio Loka Parishad, Mr Vinod Goswami of Assam Yatiyatabadi Dal and Mr Brindaban Goswami, convener of the preparatory committee of the convention. Mr Bhrigu Kumar

Phukan, ex-general secretary of the AASU, Mr Atul Bora and Mr Aroop Bordoloi were elected general secretaries.

Later, at a mammoth rally, the leaders appealed to the people to extend their support and cooperation to the new party. Mr Arun Shourie, noted journalist and leader of the People's Union for Civil Liberties, addressed the gathering.

The draft constitution of the party demands a separate status for Assam like Jammu and Kashmir with safeguards to preserve the "great Assamese society".

The party will embrace in its fold the rank and file of the regional parties and organizations most of whom were constituents of the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, which along with the AASU spearheaded the movement on the foreign nationals issue.

There will, however, be no formal merger of these parties and organizations in the Assam Gana Parishad.

The formation of the Assam Gana Parishad is the culmination of the efforts made by the former AASU leaders to forge political unity among the pro-movement elements in the State. The new party is likely to begin its election exercises soon as the Assembly and Lok Sabha polls in the State are expected to be held by the year end.

Clashes at Meeting

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Aniruddha Mookerjee]

[Text]

**Golaghat, Oct. 14:** The new regional party, Assam Gana Parishad, was formally launched today at a meeting marked by acrimonious exchanges and clashes. The two major pro-movement forces, the Asom Jatiyatabadi Dal (AJD) and the Purbanchaliya Loka Parishad (PLP) dissolved their identities and merged into the new party.

After prolonged negotiations the delegates' session of the convention passed an amended version of the draft constitution of the party. The draft, which recommended a five year party organisational structure, came in for a lot of criticism as every constituent wanted an important post.

To accommodate various groups and minimise internal squabbles closed-door meetings were held and the party decided to appoint a six-member presidium with Mr Prafulla Mahanta as the working president. The other five members are Mr Dhaneshwar Bora, ex-PLP president, Mr Binode Goswami, ex-AJD president, Mr Brindaban Goswami, former president of AASU, and two minority leaders, Mr Aatur Rahman and Mr Biren Boro. Three general secretaries were also appointed. They are Mr Bhrigu Phukan, former AASU general secretary, Mr Atul Bora of the PLP and Mr Biraj Sharma, convener of the AAGSP.

The appointments generated strong opposition from the delegates, including an AASU adviser, Mr D.P. Barua of Guwahati University, who demanded that the party have only one presi-

dent and one general secretary. This was, however, sorted out when Mr Mahanta announced that this was an ad hoc structure which would be replaced after party elections.

Soon after, Mr Durgadas Boro, a representative of the All-Assam Tribal Students' Union, came onto the dais to demand that his organisation be given some representation in the party. This led to an uproar and though Mr Boro was made a member of the executive committee, many delegates branded him an "opportunist" and a "traitor" and later came to blows with him.

After the meeting was declared closed, Mr Mahanta was escorted out by party volunteers to the maidan where more than five lakh people were waiting for three hours to hear him speak. The public meeting, which was supposed to start at 2 pm, began only at 5 pm.

Addressing the rally, Mr Mahanta termed the formation of the new party as "the dawn of a new era in Assam".

According to the aims and objectives contained in the draft constitution, the party will demand special safeguards from the Centre to protect the interests of the Assamese people.

The party advocates a federal structure of government with more powers to the state. It also demands safeguards for small "nationalities" and wants to work for a united India.

The rectangular party flag comprises two green strips in the top and bottom and a white band in the middle which has a cart-wheel cutting into a red cog-wheel.

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Oct 85 p 6

[Text]

GOLAGHAT, (ASSAM) Oct. 17.

The Assam Gana Parishad, which formally took its birth following the unconditional merger of both the Assam Jatiatabadi Dal (AJD) and the Purbanchal Lok Parishad (PLP) into the new party at the end of a three-day political convention here, is to have a 39-member executive.

The executive comprises a six-member presidium to be headed by a president-in-chief, five vice-presidents, three general secretaries, eight secretaries and 17 members.

Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta is the president of the presidium whose other members are Mr. Thaneswar Boro, president of the dissolved PLP, Mr. Binode Goswami, president of the dissolved AJD, Mr. Brindaban Goswami former AASU president and convenor of the preparatory committee of the political convention, Mr. Ataur Rahman, retired senior police official and Mr. Biren Boro, principal of a college, who was victimised during the agitation.

The general secretaries panel is headed by Mr. Bhriku Kumar Phukan and consist of Mr. Atul Bora, general secretary of the dissolved PLP and Mr. Hiraj Sharma, general secretary of the dissolved AJD and the convenor of the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad. The five vice-presidents, the eight secretaries and the 17 executive members will represent all the components of the broad alliance that conducted the agitation.

**Skilfully managed:** The deliberations in the two long delegates sessions were, under the circumstances, relatively smooth and the merger of the parties was skilfully managed though acrimony was not entirely absent. The PLP decided to shed its identity only at the very last moment.

The organisers of the convention, who had provided for one president and one general secretary in the constitution, were, during the discussions and behind-the-scene negotiations, persuaded of the necessity to broaden these offices to accommodate the PLP and the AJD as well as other sections which had supported the agitation.

In that sense both the choice of the name (which appears to be an abbreviation of the AAGSP) and this conspicuous inclusion of representatives of other groups suggest a triumph for the concept of the AAGSP (which the hardcore AASUs want to be dissolved) and the recognition by the AASU leadership (or rather, of ex-AASU leadership) of the usefulness of the old structure in the immediate context of the coming elections.

**Interventions:** Towards the end of the deliberations when the amended proposal to have a presidium instead of a president and three

general secretaries instead of one was about to be carried, there were impassioned interventions from the floor, principally by the AASU supporters, that the original provision for one president and one general secretary should be accepted.

But in the event, the stand of ex-AASU leaders, like Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta and Mr. Bhriku Kumar Phukan and their advisers, who appeared to be determined to have a broad-based presidium, prevailed.

The closing stages of the convention were also marked by some acrimony over the inclusion and exclusion of several names in the executive. Mr. Durga Das Boro, the dissident leader

of the pro-agitation faction of the All Assam Tribal Students Union (AATSU) was especially vehement in denouncing the omission of an AASTU representative in the executive committee. The inclusion of Mr. Boro's name belatedly in the executive did not appear to have entirely pacified his followers.

**'Curtain raiser':** The compulsion that dictated such a large and broad-based executive and the controversies that surrounded the exercise only reflect the complete demographic and ethnic reality of the State and are but a mere curtain raiser to the greater political and organisational problems that the new party is bound to face.

The controversies were sought to be resolved by forming the present executive and the ad hoc body which will carry on till after the election when a State-level constitutional convention will meet to consider and approve the various amendments to the draft constitution that are yet to be disposed off.

Were the new party to do well in the elections, these problems will sort themselves out, though success of an extraordinary dimension—unlikely as things stand—may well aggravate them. But were the party to fare badly, the crack-up into its former components appears inescapable and may even be facilitated by the organisational structure that has now been accepted.

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CSO: 4600/1128

INDIA

JANATA SEEKS ALLIANCE WITH NEW ASSAM PARTY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 20 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, Oct. 19: The Janata Party is seeking an electoral alliance with the newly-formed Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) in the forthcoming Assam elections, party sources have said.

Apart from the AGP, the Janata is also keen on some sort of an understanding with the CPI and the Congress(S). An alliance with the Congress(S) may prove difficult because the party is keen to adopt a pro-minorities line and go along with the CPI(M).

The Janata Party, which had taken a pro-AASU stand all throughout the agitation, is hopeful of getting a chunk of the Assamese votes. They are confident that even without an alliance with the AGP, they will do fairly well and some leaders are even hoping to form the government.

At the Janata annual convention in Ballia last week, it was made clear that the Janata's main base was in the plains. This was evident from the strong attack launched by Assam leaders such as the former chief minister, Mr Golap Borbora and Mr Dulal Baruah, against Syed Shahabuddin for his articles criticising the accord. Syed Shahabuddin had taken a stridently pro-minorities stand and had even advocated armed struggle by the Muslims of the region.

The Assam leaders had urged that he retract his statement,

pointing out that his articles had done in calculable harm to the interests of the party in the state. Though Syed Shahabuddin refused to retract his article, he said he was "sorry" if certain statements had hurt the sentiments of the people.

The Assam elections is also being viewed as a test case by certain sections of the party, particularly the younger elements. These young leaders have decided to work systematically and painstakingly in Assam for a month or two before the elections. Since the party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has decided to give a free hand to these leaders, they will try to show their skill and hard work by preparing an effective campaign, sources said. It is felt that the Janata already has a strong base and a possible alliance with the AGP as well as a concerted campaign will enhance their position.

In order to assess their position, the Janata had organised a camp in Assam last month. Senior leaders of the party including Mr Ravindra Varma, Dr Bapu Kaldate and Mr Surendra Mohan attended the three-day camp from September 22 to 24 and later toured the state. Their optimistic reports have further enthused the younger members of the party who, after a year of theorising are eager to get on to the field of "real politik."

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CSO: 4600/1143

INDIA

## ASSAM-TYPE SITUATION DEEMED POSSIBLE IN MEGHALAYA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

**GUWAHATI, October 20.**  
**T**HE All-Meghalaya Students Union (AMSU), taking off from where the All-Assam Students Union (AASU) left off, has been attempting to organise a movement against alleged foreign nationals in the picturesque hill state.

Soon after the signing of the Assam accord, the AMSU led by its president, Mr. B. S. Lyngdoh, and the general secretary, Mr. A. R. Marak, organised a series of bandhs and black-outs to press for their five-point charter of demands.

The demands are much more rigid than those of their counterparts in the Brahmaputra valley. For instance, they insist on 1951 as the cut-off year for detection, deletion and deportation of foreign nationals. All names not found in the electoral rolls of 1952 should be deleted from the voters' list.

Citizenship certificates issued by the Meghalaya government will be acceptable, but those of other state governments will not be respected. Suspension of trading licences of non-tribals and the introduction of inner line regulations as in Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh are the other demands of the students.

### INFLUX PROBLEM

Before the students agitation could gain much ground, the chief minister, Mr. Williamson Sangma, tried to take the wind off the sails of the agitationists, by himself appealing to the Centre to extend the provisions of the Assam accord to Meghalaya. At the same time he constituted a committee

made up of government servants, tribals heads and representatives of the students to go into the problem of influx into Meghalaya.

The problem of foreign nationals in Meghalaya, as in Assam during the initial stages of the movement, is being overlapped with that of influx of outsiders from other states. Infiltration from the Bangladesh border is more or less confined to the Garo Hills sector. In the other areas, more so in Shillong, the influx is being resented by the local population.

The phobia of outsiders entering Meghalaya is so widespread, that even the Congress chief minister, Mr. Sangma, has staunchly opposed the extension of the railway line from Guwahati to Burnihat, a small village in the foothills. The popular feeling among the Khasis is that the railways will bring with it an influx of unwanted outsiders.

The fear of outsiders is so strong in Meghalaya that it cuts across traditional party lines. The Congress, APHLC, the HSPD and the PDIC leaders all agree that both 'foreigners' and 'outsiders' are not welcome in Meghalaya.

According to a former opposition MLA, Mr. Martin Narayan Majaw, "our fears are very genuine. If we do not look out, our small tribal population and traditional way of life will disappear with the onslaught of

outsiders who have already changed our former simple values."

PTI adds: The All-Assam Students Union today charged the election commission with "hasty, casual and unprincipled," disposal of a large number of claims and objections on the draft electoral rolls of the state.

In a memorandum to the chief election commissioner, the AASU president, Mr. Kartik Hazarika, and the general secretary, Mr. Sashadhar Kakati, said that such hasty disposal of claims and objections would only help "non-citizens", to get their names entered in electoral rolls.

The memorandum also alleged that this was "violative", of the chief election commissioner's assurance to the supreme court that a correct electoral roll would be prepared for the state.

The memorandum warned that the AASU would be forced to; review the whole process of preparation of the electoral rolls, if the state election machinery did not stop the "hasty, cosmetic and invalid hearing procedure of claims and objections".

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CSO: 4600/1144

INDIA

STRINGENT STEPS THOUGHT LIKELY TO HALT PRICE RISE

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 21--After the Dusserah-Divali festival season, the Government intends to crack down heavily on the trading classes who not only make enormous amounts of black money but also plough back the ill-gotten wealth into commodities to corner stocks and push up prices.

The earlier plans to start raiding the shops, godowns and residences of traders engaged in both wholesale and retail business before the two festivals were given up, because the Government did not want to risk an interruption of sales by creating panic in the bazars and compelling the culprits to hide their stocks of consumer goods and other essential items of daily use.

The Government believes that the big industrial houses control production function in close concert with their wholesale dealers, who in turn manipulate the distributive trade to share the pickings and pass on a part of black money to the manufacturers themselves. A peculiar feature of the Indian economy, according to some experts, is that the harassed public is often compelled to convert white money into black by paying in cash to save sales tax on purchases.

Cabinet panels formed: The Government has not been able to check such malpractices because the responsibility for price controls, management of public distribution, regulation of production, import of essential commodities in short supply and checks on tax evasion rests with different ministries and departments with nobody in over-all control of the situation. It is to remove this lucana that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, recently constituted two Cabinet sub-committees under the chairmanship of the Finance Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, to provide for a better integrated approach to production and distribution for regulating the prices.

The Finance Minister has already started convening periodical meetings of his Cabinet colleagues dealing with economic subjects to see what could be done to increase supply of essential commodities and take suitable administrative steps to keep prices down. At the same time, the Government is also studying the desirability of curtailing imports of items like edible

oils and diverting the money saved to subsidise retail prices even at the risk of creating temporary shortages before the domestic production can be stepped up by offering the necessary incentives to agriculturists.

Review of situation: The Prime Minister indicated to some of his senior colleagues before he left on foreign tour that one of the first things he proposes to do on his return is to review the price situation. It is in anticipation of this step that the economic ministries concerned have been carrying out a series of studies to pinpoint the causes of the recent increases in prices.

The Government need not have taken six months after the last budget to realise that something drastic needed to be done to put some curbs on traders who in the absence of any price controls are free to charge any price without attracting penal action. It has been pretending all these months that the increases were well within manageable limits until official agencies themselves started talking privately of deepening unrest and even a degree of disenchantment with the Government over its faltering performance in the price front.

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CSO: 4600/1146



INDIA

# AGRICULTURE OFFICIALS SET TARGET FOR RABI HARVEST

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Oct 85 p 7

[Text] The national conference on Rabi campaign has endorsed a target of 71 million tonnes of foodgrains for the coming Rabi season, reports UNI.

This is about six million tonnes higher than that achieved in the last Rabi season.

The two-day conference in New Delhi, which was attended by agriculture production commissioners and secretaries from States, reviewed the Rabi preparations and felt that conditions were conducive to an optimistic outlook.

The conference, which concluded on Tuesday, critically reviewed this year's kharif prospects and expressed the view that the long dry spell before the "hatia" rains in mid-September might have to some extent affected the production of coarse cereals and groundnut in the central and western parts of the country.

While the precise estimation of the kharif crop should await the data base that would be available after the harvest, it was unanimously agreed that States should improve their agricultural statistics so that production figures were closely monitored in relation to the use of inputs and the agronomical impact of the monsoon conditions.

The conference emphasised the need for greater attention to the development and distribution of improved seeds without which higher production targets could not be achieved.

Special emphasis was laid on land development and water management which alone could provide greater insurance against fluctuations in productivity on account of moisture stress.

Another important recommendation of the conference was that the Government should consider the desirability of reserving at least 30 per cent of rural employment funds for development of micro watersheds for the benefit of small and marginal farmers.

Reviewing the arrangements for indenting and supplying of quality seed by the Central and State Seed Corporations, the conference recommended that the supply should be organised on the basis of commercial indents placed on these corporations well in advance. The States should also ensure that no seed is purchased from sources whose capability is suspect. It was agreed that the Central and State Seed Corporations should plan the supply on a complementary basis and there should be no discrimination in favour of one corporation against another.

The conference also stressed the need to provide an adequate supply of inputs, particularly fertilisers, in advance of the planting season, because of obvious uncertainties relating to shipment and transport. This was particularly necessary for the northern and eastern regions which were developing as high fertiliser consuming areas and which depended considerably on supplies to be moved from the western and southern supply points.

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CSO: 4600/1138

INDIA

## ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES BORDER SITUATION

Remarks in Hyderabad

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 85 p 12

[Text]

HYDERABAD, Oct. 19.

The recent incidents on India's western borders are an indication that the "conditions are not as normal as we think", according to the Army Chief, Gen. A. S. Vaidya.

Recently three Armymen were killed in an ambush. Their bodies were returned and a wounded officer crawled back to the Indian side. Three others, who had strayed across the borders, were returned.

Talking to newsmen here this morning after an investiture parade, Gen. Vaidya said he was glad the press was taking note of the activities on the borders.

He said since the Indian Army moved permanently into Turtok, south of the Siachin glacier on April 14, 1984, fifty-four men had died. Ten of them were killed in firing by Pakistani forces.

**High altitude risks:** He said he was happy the Government had taken note of the risks involved in working at high altitudes. A medal had been instituted for exceptional work. A glacier allowance was also being given. He said: "We cannot bring back the dead, but the Army Insurance Scheme and other benefits given to the families of those killed in the defence of the country help to take care of the dependents to a great extent".

**Internal enemies:** Stating that internal enemies posed a greater threat than external forces, he exhorted the defence forces to maintain high standards.

Addressing the investiture parade at the

Army Parade Grounds, after decorating 55 Armymen, Gen. Vaidya urged them not to heed those trying to divide them on the basis of religion.

**Acquiring weapons:** Gen. Vaidya said a country "in the west" was acquiring sophisticated weapons on the pretext that it would need them if attacked by Afghanistan. But a look at the weapons showed that many were for use in the sea or in the air. They would not be of any use against Afghanistan, which was a mountainous country.

**'Ever prepared':** Gen. Vaidya said China was modernising its forces and pointed out the need for India to be prepared. He congratulated those who had participated in the parade and those decorated.

The 61st Cavalry, 14th battalion of the Punjab Regiment, 17th battalion of the Madras Regiment, 19th battalion of the Rajput Regiment, 12th battalion of the Garhwal Rifles, 15th battalion of the Kumaon Regiment, First battalion of the Mahar Regiment, the 96 Field Regiment, 581 Light Regiment, 114 Medium Regiment and the Mechanised Infantry Regimental Centre participated in the parade which was led by Brig. Arjan Singh Narula. Lt. Col. Arvind Kumar Prabhu Desai was the parade second in-command.

Infantry combat vehicles were on view in Hyderabad for the first time. The Madras Regiment paraded some 106 mm recoilless guns, besides the 105 mm Indian guns, 120 mm Brandt mortars and 130 mm medium guns were also on parade.

Speech to Delhi Businessmen

JPRS-NEA-85-147  
17 December 1985

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

Pakistan is reportedly planning to carry out a nuclear test in the Chinese ranges in northern Sinkiang, reports PTI.

Disclosing this the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen A S Vaidya, expressed fears that the test could be carried out in disguised manner to hide from the world the fact that Pakistan had acquired nuclear bomb capability. The Chinese nuclear reactors and test ranges are located in the Lop Nor region north of provincial capital of Urumchi which is connected to Pakistan by the famous Karakoram highway.

Addressing members of the Delhi Rotary Club midtown, on Friday, the Army chief revealed that Indian forces had repulsed a large number of attacks by Pakistani troops in strategic Siachen glacier in eastern Karakoram and assured "we continue to occupy all the vital heights in the area".

During his 40-minute address, the Army chief touched on almost all aspects concerning threats to the country saying that the troops were prepared to face any eventuality.

The Army chief lauded the troops stationed in the area, who he said were braving temperatures from sub-zero to minus 45 degree celcius. He said ferrying of troops and supplies to the area was proving a major problem but added stocking had been done to position the troops in the area throughout the winter for the second season.

Gen Vaidya said the area had always been in possession of India and asserted that it was not governed by the line of actual control which terminated about 45 kms south of the glacier area near Kargil. The Army chief said the possession of the bare Arctic land was very vital to India as it provided a backdoor to the Leh valley.

He also spoke of threat to the country by acquisition of highly sophisticated and electronic weapons by both Pakistan and China. He discounted the plea put forward by the arms supplying countries that these weapons were being given to counter the Soviet threat from Afghanistan.

The Army chief said that Har-

poon land to land missiles, self-propelled guns, armoured personnel carriers and sophisticated tanks could not be used in mountainous terrain and had been deployed facing Indian position in Punjab and Rajasthan.

He said the Chinese despite their much advertised campaign of going in for troop reduction had still a standing army of 3.3 millions comprising 159 divisions. Besides, he said the Chinese had recently acquired high altitude helicopters and enhanced their nuclear capability by building longer range warheads.

Gen Vaidya said the Chinese had also recently completed a massive oil pipeline project to Lahsa and were extending the railway network to the Tibetan capital. He also said the road network in the Tibet had been made extensive.

Turning to threats within the country, the Army chief said insurgency which had at one stage gripped the entire north-east has almost been stamped out except for some remnant bases located in Burma and Chittagong hill tracts in Bangladesh.

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CSO: 4600/1141

INDIA

## ANALYST SPECULATES ON NEXT CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 20.

The process of selection of the next Chief of Army Staff has already begun and a decision is expected shortly after the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who is also the Defence Minister, has examined the comparative merits of those on the eligibility list in terms of seniority and experience.

The appointment is finalised and announced at least two to three months before the retirement of the out-going chief to enable the rank and file of the Army to get themselves adjusted to the change-over which in a military establishment is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremonial as part of a smooth succession.

As Gen. A. S. Vaidya will be retiring at the end of January next, an announcement of the name of his successor is expected in the course of November. The Defence Ministry has already set the process in motion by narrowing down the choice to two or three at the top of the list, leaving the final decision to the Prime Minister, who has the ultimate authority for choosing the Chiefs of the three Services on the basis of their professional competence, qualities of leadership, battle experience and general aptitude to function effectively within the parameters of the country's political system.

The two that are now at the top of the list are the Vice-Chief of the Army Staff, Lt. Gen. K. Sundarji, and the GOC-in-C of the Western Command, Lt. Gen. H. N. Kaul, while the other four who are theoretically eligible to be considered for this selection post—the GOC-in-Cs of the Northern, Southern, Central and Eastern Commands—stand little chance because they are either relatively junior or due for superannuation soon.

**No promotion system:** The choice of an Army Chief has often led to some avoidable controversy because it was not easy for the political leadership to strike a widely acceptable balance between seniority and experience. In the

British days, the promotions to senior commands were worked out well in advance to ensure that those earmarked for the top post got selected in the normal course without causing any resentment in the Services.

But after Independence, the seniority rule could not be scrupulously observed every time a top vacancy occurred because it was not possible to arrange the succession ahead in each case while the armed forces went through rapid expansion. It is the unfortunate absence of a proper promotion system at the higher levels for narrowing down the choice of selections to the posts of Service Chiefs to single options in each case, combining seniority and experience, that has led to a lot of heart-burning among the other eligibles who were equally entitled to be considered for promotion.

The Government was criticised when it bypassed Lt. Gen. Kulwant Singh in the early Sixties and appointed Lt. Gen. K. S. Thimmayya Chief of Army Staff purely on merit. It was assailed in much stronger terms when the term of Gen. G. G. Bewoor was extended in mid-Seventies to avoid promoting Lt. Gen. P. S. Bhagat and clear the way for the selection of Gen. T. N. Raina, who also superseded Lt. Gen. N. C. Rawley. A similar controversy erupted two years ago when Gen. Vaidya was chosen in preference to Lt. Gen. S. K. Sinha, who was senior to him.

**P.M.'s task:** So in selecting the next Army Chief, Mr. Gandhi has to make an effort to set a sounder tradition by applying more objective criteria to determine the relative merits while respecting the seniority principle. He should not allow himself to be influenced by subjective considerations, since the armed forces regard seniority as something sacrosanct unless there are very valid reasons for ignoring it.

In all probability, Gen. Sundarji will be selected on the basis of both seniority and experience. But any undue delay in announcing

the appointment is bound to create a wrong impression that the Government is being influenced by other considerations even if it is not true in the present case.

The next one will be the 14th Chief of Army Staff since Independence, including the last British Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Sir Roy Bucher, who was succeeded by Gen. K. M. Cariappa, first Indian officer chosen for this prestigious post. The high turn-over is partly attributable to the reduction of the tenure from four to three years, besides the early retirement of many chiefs without completing even this reduced term.

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CSO: 4600/1145

INDIA

WESTERN COUNTRIES COMPETE TO COLLABORATE ON PLANES

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 17.

The U.S., Britain and France are competing fiercely for securing the collaboration contract with India for designing and developing a light combat aircraft (LCA) equipped with the most advanced weapon systems when it goes into production in five to 10 years time.

The Government of India intended initially to rely largely on the country's indigenous skills, utilising the minimum of outside assistance, for this ambitious project but now it is inclined to go in for a higher degree of foreign collaboration, because of the many difficulties encountered in designing the airframe and producing a matching engine to meet the prescribed performance specifications.

**Trial basis:** At one stage it was thought that the GTX gas turbine engine under development in India could be fitted into a locally designed airframe. As this programme is lagging far behind, the Government has decided to try out on a trial basis an alternative engine built by General Electric Company that is already in operational use by the F-18 aircraft built for the U.S. Navy by the Northrop Aircraft Corporation.

The U.S. Government has allowed India to import one or more units of an advanced version of the GE-404 engine which Northrop is going to fit into the next series of F-20 aircraft.

Though two other American aircraft companies, Lockheed and Grumman, have also been approached for technical assistance in developing the airframe for the proposed light combat aircraft, Northrop seems to be better placed to secure this contract since it is using already GE-404 engines in the F-18 and F-20 series designed by it.

**British offer:** But the competition among these three American companies has been further sharpened by the determined bids that the

British Aerospace and the French Aerospatiale have been making to out-bid them with offers of superior technology and better financial terms. The British have been suggesting long-term technical collaboration that would extend to all the defence spheres for joint development of highly sophisticated weapon systems to meet the future requirements of air, naval and ground forces.

The French, too, have been talking of close cooperation that would extend to the next two or three decades, until India becomes totally self-reliant in its defence. The Indian decision not to go in for licensed production of the Mirage-2000 has, no doubt, disappointed the French Government, but it is aspiring to overcome this setback by securing the contract for collaboration in the more ambitious LCA project.

**Artillery deal:** The Anglo-French rivalry also extends to the Rs. 1,000-crore deal for the purchase of 155-mm artillery by India which intends to take a decision soon. Austria and Sweden also are in the run for this contract with offers of this artillery both in self-propelled and towed versions.

The U.S. was approached by India in 1980 for the sale of this artillery, but the deal fell through because of the unacceptable conditions that were sought to be imposed by Washington. So the U.S. is not competing now with its western allies for the sale of arms to India, but confining itself to offers of technical assistance for the country's defence production.

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CSO: 4600/1137

INDIA

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ACTIVITY ON PAKISTAN BORDER

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

SRINAGAR, Oct. 17.

The Pakistani defence forces, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons are said to be active along the border. These are described as abnormal activities.

It has been observed that for the first time after the Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1971, Pakistani troops are mobilising and strengthening their positions in the higher mountainous regions of Jammu and Kashmir, where October is the month when the armies begin stocking for the winter. There is hardly a day when they do not resort to unprovoked firing and shelling on Indian army posts and pickets almost all along the Line of Actual Control in the State. (A UN report said Pakistani troops fired on an Indian picket in Poonch district on October 14 and 15).

**'Not like normal':** An Indian Army officer told this correspondent emphatically, "What we are observing now is not exactly like normal times." This correspondent also visited some of the far-flung border areas of the State early this month. It was reported that instead of withdrawing from their high placed pickets, the Pakistani troops were moving closer to the Line of Actual Control and were seen building concrete pill boxes-cum-winter shelters and bunkers. This is said to be an abnormal phenomenon.

Much of their activity, according to Indian Army authorities, is concentrated in the Poonch, Rajouri, Tithwal, Uri, Gulmarg, Kargil, and Leh sectors. These are considered strategically vital areas. Between the hills surrounding them are small passes which were used by Pakistani infiltrators during the conflicts of 1965 and 1971.

**Probing for weakness:** The defence authorities say that the recent Pakistani intrusions, though still on a small scale in all these sectors, confirm their designs not only to probe Indian preparedness but also to pick out possible

routes while consolidating their hold over the territory in winter. This is also leading to bloody skirmishes every now and then.

In the loftier border areas of Ladakh, especially the inhospitable hill reaches above the Nubra Valley, the Pakistanis have made repeated attempts to drive away Indian troops holed up at the over 6000-metre high Siachen Glacier.

It is reported that the Pakistanis have set up dozens of terrorist training camps, not only along the borders with Punjab and Rajasthan, but also adjacent to the Line of Actual Control

in Jammu and Kashmir. It is also said the trained men are being smuggled into India under cover of firing through some of the mountain passes, to create trouble which could serve as an excuse to launch an armed foray into the Kashmir Valley, adjoining areas in Jammu region and the border areas of Ladakh.

**Documents seized:** These points came to light, according to the Jammu and Kashmir Director-General of Police, Mr. M. M. Khajuria, when the Jammu Police after having busted a gang of Khalistani extremists known as 'Saffron Tigers' in the first week of October, seized some documents. These, he said, made it clear that extremists were being trained in Pakistan and smuggled into India.

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CSO: 4600/1137



INDIA

BRIEFS

NEW AISSF PRESIDENT--Patiala, Oct. 17--Mr Harvinder Singh Khalsa, acting president of the All India Sikh Students Federation, was yesterday elected president of the federation in place of Amrik Singh, who was killed during the Blue Star operations in the Golden Temple complex last June, reports PTI. A meeting of the presidents of the district units here decided that Mr Khalsa should continue as president till the next session of the AISSF. A 10-member ad hoc committee was also formed to run the affairs of the organization. The meeting also decided to observe "sahidi week" from October 31 to November 6, in memory of those killed in the November riots. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 13] /6091

SOVIET HELICOPTERS--New Delhi, Oct. 11--The Indian Air Force has acquired Soviet MI-17 helicopters which are said to be useful in operations at extreme high altitudes, reports PTI. An improved version of the MI-8 helicopters, already in service with the Air Force, the MI-17 helicopters have twin turboshafts. The helicopters can operate even if one of the engines stops functioning. It has a range of 495 km and a service ceiling on over 5,000 metres, about 500 metres more than that of the MI-8. The helicopters are used for ferrying troops and equipment to the snow-bound areas of the Himalayas and the eastern Karakorams. A report from London says that the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has indicated that India is going to buy Westland helicopters and more Sea Harrier jets from Britain. The two deals were estimated by the British to be worth about 250 million pounds sterling. About the purchase of 21 Westland helicopters for the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Mr Gandhi told The Times in an interview published today that some headway had been made in the negotiations. Certain modifications and changes in the operating procedures of the helicopters had brought their performance "very close to what we require", he added. In regard of the purchase of 11 more Sea Harriers, Mr Gandhi said: "There is no problem with the Harriers, there is a problem with some of the equipment". But the problem was not a serious one. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Oct 85 p 7] /6091

PUNJAB PANEL RECONSTITUTED--Chandigarh, Oct. 9--The Punjab Government has reconstituted the committee to prepare and present its case before the commission and tribunal set up by the Government of India on all matters relating to territorial disputes. It is headed by Mr Balwant Singh, Finance Minister. Other members include Mr Amrinder Singh, Agriculture and

Forest Minister, Mr Sukhjinder Singh, Education Minister, Mr M. S. Gill, Financial Commissioner (Development), Mrs Usha Vohra, Financial Commissioner (Revenue), Mr Amarjit Singh, Director of Industries, and Mr Pritam Singh. Dr Prem Singh, professor of linguistics, University of Delhi and Dr Attar Singh, Chairman, School of Punjabi Studies, Punjab University, will be consultants to the committee. The State Government has reconstituted the committee to prepare and present the case of the State of Punjab before the commissioner or tribunal set up by the Government of India on all the matters relating to river water disputes. The committee comprises Mr Balwant Singh, Finance Minister (chairman), and Mr Amrinder Singh, Agriculture and Forest Minister, Mr Sukhjinder Singh, Education Minister, Mr M. S. Gill, Financial Commissioner (Development), Mr Tejinder Khanna, secretary, Irrigation and Power Department, Mr Manmohun Singh, technical member, Punjab State Electricity Board, Mr Paramjit Singh, presiding officer, college tribunal, Mr Gill, former chairman, Punjab State Electricity Board, Mr Paul Singh Dhillon, chief engineer (retd.) and Mr Hardev Singh, senior advocate, Supreme Court, as members. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 10 Oct 85 p 12] /6091

INDUSTRY MINISTRY ORGANIZATION--New Delhi, Sept. 26--The Industry Ministry, under Mr Narayan Dutt Tiwari, now comprises the four departments of industrial development, company affairs, chemicals and petro-chemicals and public enterprises, reports UNI. Besides general industrial policy, the department of industrial development will concern itself with the administration of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1961, industrial management, productivity and industrial cooperation, barring cooperative sugar factories. The amended rules list the industries that come under the purview of the department. These include small-scale units, patents and design sector and materials planning. The department of company affairs involves administration of the Companies Act, 1956, the Companies (Donations to National Funds) Act, 1951, the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, the profession of accountancy, costs and works accountancy and company secretaries. A collection of statistics relating to companies, legislation relating to law partnership and the MRTP Commission. The department of chemicals and petro-chemicals includes, besides planning and development, the supervision of drugs and pharmaceuticals, insecticides, molasses, alcohol, dyestuff and dye intermediates, all organic and inorganic chemicals not specifically allotted to any ministry or department, petro-chemicals, industries relating to production of non-cellulosic synthetic fibres, synthetic rubber, plastics and all public sector units relating to the above. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Sep 85 p 15] /6091

UK PLANES, MISSILES--London, October 14 (PTI)--India and Britain have concluded negotiations for the sale of 11 Sea Harrier jumpjets and an undisclosed number of Sea Eagle missiles to the Indian navy at an estimated cost of 160 million pounds. The negotiations were completed in New Delhi on Friday, according to a British press report which said that both sides appeared to be keen to finish detailed negotiations, including a memorandum of understanding on the sale, before the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit here today. The contract is to be approved by the Indian cabinet and no formal announcement about the deal is expected during Mr. Gandhi's visit here. Mr. Gandhi himself had said last week that there was no problem about Harriers although there were some difficulties in regard to some equipment. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

ROCKET TEST-FLOWN--Madras, Oct. 16--The Indian Space Research Organisation's (ISRO) first Strap-on rocket derived from Rohini 200 and 300 sounding rockets, was successfully test-flown from the Sriharikota Range at 5 p.m. on Wednesday. Flight objectives, such as, simultaneous ignition of the two Strap-on rockets, their separation and flight mechanics of Strap-on motors and core motors were demonstrated, according to SHAR authorities. The mission is a trail-blazer and has provided useful inputs on design and performance of Strap-on rockets. The rocket was developed at the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC) by a team of engineers and technicians led by Mr. Rajaram Nagappa and Mr. Gopal. The integration and launch operations were carried out by engineers and technicians of the SHAR centre, led by Mr. S. Sankar. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Oct 85 p 12] /6091

PACT WITH GULF STATES--Bahrain, Oct. 15--India signed another air service agreement today with the United Arab Emirates and the Dubai Emirate Civil Aviation Authorities providing for landing rights for the new Dubai airline--Emirate--for ten passenger flights and two cargo flights on the Dubai-Delhi and Dubai-Bombay sectors from October 25. The agreement was signed in Dubai by Dr. S. S. Siddhu, Secretary, Ministry of Civil Aviation, while Sheikh Ahmed-bin-Saeed al-Maktoum, head of the Dubai Civil Aviation and Mr. Mohd Yaaha-al-Suwaidi, Under Secretary, Ministry of Communications, UAE signed on behalf of their Governments. The new airline will have a weekly capacity of 2,250 seats on these two sectors. India signed a similar agreement with the four owner--States of Gulf Air-Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the UAE--in Bahrain on Sunday permitting the airline to operate 26 flights with a total of 6,500 seats a week from the Gulf to India.--PTI. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Oct 85 p 9] /6091

NEW TRIPURA MINISTER--Agartala, Oct. 9--The 33-month-old Left Front Ministry in Tripura was reconstituted today with the induction of the CPI(M) legislator, Mr. Puramohan Tripura, in the 13-member Cabinet. Mr. Tripura's induction follows the resignation on health grounds of Mr. Sudhanwa Deb Barma, Minister in-charge of Statistics.--UNI. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

ROCKET TEST FACILITY--Warangal, Oct. 24 (PTI)--A Rs 12-lakh facility, the first in India, to test rocket propellants for defence utility, is ready for operation at the Regional Engineering college at Kazipet near here. Solid and liquid fuel used in rockets can now be tested using this facility, Mr G. Deva Paul, of the Rocket Centre told PTI. It will also study the combustion phenomena in the primary rocket motor. The facility has been built by the college in collaboration with the defence research and development laboratory (DRDL) in Hyderabad with the assistance of the aeronautical research and development board (ARDB), New Delhi. It will get its fuel supply from the explosives research development laboratory, Pune, and conduct tests on rocket motors under static conditions, Mr Paul said. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 25 Oct 85 p 7] /6091

NEWSMEN'S CURB REMOVED--The Government on Friday withdrew restrictions on the movement of foreign journalists in Assam, reports PTI. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

INDO-SWEDISH PACT--India will get Swedish assistance to the tune of Rs 4.32 crore (S Kr 30 million) for the integrated programme of technical cooperation in trade promotion under an agreement signed in Delhi on Friday, reports PTI. Swedish ambassador Axel Edelstam and joint secretary in the Finance Ministry M. S. Mukherjee signed the agreement on behalf of the two governments. The programme, envisaged to increase employment and income among the poorer sections, particularly in rural areas and among women, is spread over a period of three years from 1 May, 1985. It will also focus on developing exports of selected labour intensive products produced by small scale industries and small units in defined geographical areas. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Oct 85 p 2] /6091

DISTURBED BELT EXTENDED--New Delhi, Oct. 24--The Centre today notified the extension of the disturbed belt in Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh along the Burmese border from five km to 20 km. This step, it was stated, had become necessary to enable the armed forces to help the civil administration more effectively in maintaining law and order. Of late, the infiltration of trained Nagas, Mizos and Manipuri people from across the border had intensified and the five-km belt was considered inadequate to counter their activities. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Oct 85 p 9] /6091

CSO: 4600/1136

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